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FBIS-EEU-92-151 *5 August 1992*

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Bosnia-Hercegovina

TANJUG reports that in a 4 August interview, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated: "Arms and ammunition, mostly made in Turkey, are being parachuted to the Muslim forces from planes carrying humanitarian aid to Sarajevo." Karadzic added: "Several British reporters are now among Bosnian Serbs in order to establish facts about the alleged existence of concentration camps for Muslims and Croats."

Czechoslovakia

During a meeting with members of the Slovak National Council, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said: "Calling a referendum at present would run counter to Slovakia's interests since it might lead to complications in the succession of the Czech and Slovak Republics to the Czechoslovak Federation," CSTK reports. He added that if a referendum is held "and people vote for (preserving) the federation, there will be no need for new elections since the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] offered in its election programme five ways of solving Czechoslovakia's setup."

Albania

Tirana radio reports that during a news conference, Eduard Selami, Democratic Party, PD, chairman said: "The PD remains the country's main and largest political force because it has won the greatest percentage of the electorate in both rounds of the elections." Commenting on former high-ranking communist officials, Selami stated: "We will exert pressure on the authoritative bodies to bring them to court as soon as possible, charging them not only with economic problems, but also with political genocide of the Albanian people."

Poland

Polish primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp began a six-day visit to Russia and Kazakhstan on 4 August, PAP reports. Addressing the controversy over the activities of Polish priests in Byelarus, Glemp stated: "The dispute should not be allowed to cloud the good work of Polish priests in Byelarus, who are ministering, not only to Poles, but to all Catholics in the republic."

Yugoslavia

Federal—A CSCE fact-finding mission was received by several Yugoslav officials on 4 August. TANJUG reports: "The mission is tasked with drafting a list of proposals to be submitted to the committee on the role new CSCE missions could play in promoting the peace, preventing any outbreaks of violence and the respecting of human rights and fundamental liberties" in Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Electoral Commission Announces Partial Results

AU0408173792 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Interview with lawyer Bexhet Agolli, member of the Central Electoral Commission by Franko Egro; place and date not given]

[Text] [Agolli] The reports that our commission has received state the final results:

In Gjirokaster, the Socialist Party [PSSh] candidate won.

In Libohove, Gjirokaster District, the Democratic Party [PD] candidate won.

In Sarande, the Union for Human Rights [PBDNj] candidate won.

In Berat, the PD candidate won.

In Peqin, the PD candidate won.

We have the following results on the communes:

In Libohove, Gjirokaster District, the PSSh candidate won.

In Odrie, Gjirokaster District, the PBDNj candidate won.

In Lunxheri, Gjirokaster District, the PBDNj candidate won.

In Manez, Durres District, the PSSh candidate won.

In Rrashbull, Durres District, the PD candidate won.

In Katund i Ri, Durres District, the PD candidate won.

In Sukth, Durres District, the PD candidate won.

In Zagorije, Gjirokaster District, the PSSh candidate won.

In Zejmen, Lezhe District, the independent candidate Gjok Llesh Gjoka won.

In Levan, Fier District, the PD candidate won.

In Klos, Mat District, the PSSh candidate won.

In Gostime, Elbasan District, the PD candidate won.

In Derjan, Mat District, the PD candidate won.

In Karine, Peqin District, the PD candidate won.

In Gjozaj, Peqin District, the PD candidate won.

In Perparim, Peqin District, the PD candidate won.

In Burre, Mat District, the PSSh candidate won.

In Suc, Mat District, the PSSh candidate won.

In Pajove, Peqin District, the PSSh candidate won.

In Shkrele, Malesi e Madhe District, the independent candidate, Mark Prek Zumaj, won.

After filing this report, the Central Electoral Commission received a report from the Constitutional Court, which I would like to announce to the public:

The Constitutional Court will examine at one of the Supreme Court of Appeal's halls at 0900 on 6 August 1992 the request by the PSSh parliamentary group to invalidate Law No. 7593, dated 29 July 1992, on a redefinition of Article 80 of Law No. 7573, dated 16 June 1992, on local government elections. The Central Electoral Commission should not announce the election results until the investigation of this case is completed.

On the basis of this document, we cannot announce the election results until the investigation of this case is over.

PD Claims Poll Victory, Rules Out Coalition

AU0508092892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Report by Zamira Koleci]

[Text] The Democratic Party [PD] remains the country's main and largest political force because it has won the greatest percentage of the electorate in both rounds of the elections. This victory completes the framework of the 22 March victory, declared PD Chairman Eduard Selami at a news conference held today.

He then stated that the special feature of this victory compared with that of 22 March is that it was not simply a vote against communism, but was the complete victory of democracy on the new road we have embarked on. Under the present conditions of extraordinary difficulties and great shortages sown by the socialist welfare, the PD's victory becomes greater and expresses the confidence of the majority of Albanians to march on the road of reform. The new democratic forces won against difficulties, communism, and the tragic fate that has always been after us and did not allow us to easily depart from evil.

Mr. Eduard Selami then thanked all those who voted for the democratic forces, wished success to all those who won in the PD's name, and expressed his conviction that this party will keep the given promises and will always be by their side.

The PD needs not only the support of the whole electorate, but their remarks and suggestions. We live in a society in which the contribution of every individual is needed, especially that of the intellectuals. I want to tell the intellectuals that at these moments of this historic turn, Albania badly needs them. They should actively participate in discussions about vital problems, because these problems cannot be confronted by the parties alone.

Mr. Selami then stated that he wanted to tell the moderate electorate of the Socialist Party [PSSh] not to fall

prey to the careerist ambitions and goals of some sick leaders who cannot relinquish power and are a product of the blockmen [former high-ranking communist officials] who destroyed our country; not to fall prey to the antinational policy that is maintained in some cases by the PSSh leadership, which wants to kill hope by all means, rejoicing when aid does not come and upset when the Group of 24 comes to meet in Albania.

Lastly, Mr. Selami said that he wanted to make an explanation about a statement of his that has been distorted and misrepresented by the PSSh chairman, regarding the fact whether the PD will help the PSSh or not: I have expressed myself clearly that the PD will not help the PSSh in the constituencies where it has won, throwing out the idea that we will make a coalition with the PSSh, because the PSSh itself should defend its own electorate. Why is the PSSH asking for the PD's help in constituencies where it has won? If the PSSh cannot meet its promises, why does it take part in the election campaign and not give its place to other parties? Why doesn't the PSSh represent itself in these constituencies with as many candidates as it needs to be able to keep its promises? It is self-evident that this is a party line, because when I have been asked, whether in this hall or in other places, how we will arrange the ratio of communes in which the PSSh has won with the government, I have declared that this can be regulated by law, as everywhere.

Regarding the idea of splitting up the country, which they accuse me of, I think that they are not original. The prime minister and heir of Ramiz Alia confuses these feudal-communist concepts and distorts my statements, turning them into ores and watermelons, while my target was to underline the party line of not entering into a coalition with the PSSh.

Mr. Selami then answered reporters' questions.

Concerning these questions, he explained that the PD's attitude toward the PSSh does not depend on the percentage of votes in these elections. Since it was founded, the PD has declared in its program that it will not enter into a coalition with the PSSh, but depending on the future work by the socialists, we will see how we will operate without vacillating in our attitude concerning not entering into a coalition with them.

Expressing the idea on the creation of a unique anticommunist front, Mr. Selami explained that more than 50 percent of the electorate voted for the democratic forces. That is why I think that the creation of a unique anticommunist front is useful.

Regarding the rumors about administration changes in government and parliament, Mr. Selami considered them as having no real basis.

Concerning the blockmen, the PD chairman said that we will exert pressure on the authoritative bodies to bring them to court as soon as possible, charging them not only with economic problems, but also with political genocide of the Albanian people. Mr. Selami said that it is absurd to think that production can be stopped in constituencies where the Socialists have won. The state budget that was recently approved has determined the incomes of every administrative unit and the state budget does not depend on who is voted for.

Pramatarski Reports on Russian Debt, Negotiations

AU0408185692 Sofia Bulgarian Television Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] This is what Trade Minister Pramatarski said today about the Russian debt to Bulgaria:

[Begin recording] According to our calculations, Bulgaria's positive balance in trade relations with Russia amounts to $500 million. We also have a positive balance in convertible rubles of 640 million rubles. The Russian representatives are still arguing with us about these figures and this issue was one of the subjects discussed during the talks today. It was agreed that the joint Bulgarian-Russian commission established in accordance with the treaty will review this issue. Furthermore, the issue was given priority importance and we hope that within 10-14 days, an agreement will be reached, at least with regard to the volume of the debt. [end recording]

National Bank Governor Withdraws Resignation

AU3107180292 Sofia BTA in English 1556 GMT 31 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 31 (BTA)—The governor of the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB], Prof. Todor Vulchev, withdrew his resignation today. The ad hoc parliamentary commission of inquiry investigating the circumstances related to Prof. Vulchev's resignation expressed full support for the BNB governor and the bank's management. The commission was set up on July 22 to find out the facts which led to the BNB governor's resignation. Some recent features in the press accused Prof. Vulchev of making unfair use of his post for his own benefit. Without denying the charges Prof. Vulchev gave in his resignation, insisting that a parliamentary commission of inquiry be set up to check his activities.

After the check, the analysis and assessment of all available information, the commission rejected as ungrounded and unproved the charges against Prof. Vulchev. The commission pointed out that the consequences of Prof. Vulchev's resignation as BNB governor could be extremely serious and dangerous, in its opinion the resignation would delay the structural reform in banking.

The commission suggests to the BNB and the Council of Ministers to consider the problems of the supervision of banking jointly with the Parliamentary Committee on Budget and Finance to prevent any possibility of uncontrollably influencing and pressing the banking system.

The materials of the work of the commission of inquiry are presented to the Prosecutor General's Office, which will have to establish if this involves a crime against the BNB governor personally or if it amounts to a crime against the activity of the BNB.

Parliament Approves 1991 National Bank Report

AU3107140292 Sofia BTA in English 1057 GMT 31 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 31 (BTA)—Today parliament approved with an overwhelming majority the 1991 annual report of the National Bank of Bulgaria [BNB].

The line of liberalization and restriction in the banking system has led to a relative success of the restraint of inflation which remained at an annual level of 73 per cent, Prof. Todor Vulchev, governor of the BNB, said, addressing the National Assembly. He pointed out that the danger of a hyperinflationary spiral had been averted but the bank needs energetic support from the exchequer and the trade unions, a growth of production and maintenance of relative industrial and political peace.

The National Bank leadership has been following a cautious policy of interest rate reduction, Prof. Vulchev said. This policy is prompted by a desire to encourage production and by the danger of the dollar surging back up if it weakens too much against the lev.

The governor's report says that the country's foreign-exchange reserves are growing and have reached 850 million dollars. The gold reserves keep growing, too, and the management of the bank will propose that the government consider the opportunities of selling small amounts.

Prof. Vulchev said the bank had been implementing a successful issuing policy.

Supervision is a weak point in the banking reform, Prof. Vulchev emphasized. The National Bank has met with resistance in some banking circles and even from some MP's [members of parliament]. Now that the Banks and Lending Act has been passed, the bank will tighten its supervision, the governor pointed out.

He said that the National Bank management still lacks a comprehensive concept of banking privatization but plans some 20-25 per cent of the capital to be foreign, 20-40 per cent private and a considerable part to remain state property.

The operation of the National Bank of Bulgaria in 1991 definitely merits a positive assessment because thanks to it the confidence in the national currency grew considerably both at home and abroad. This is the main conclusion of the National Assembly Budgetary and Finance Committee, presented by its chairman Mr. Ventsislav Dimitrov. The role of the National Bank for the consolidation of the country's banking system also received high marks.

The opposition MP's assessed the report as very important and indispensable information on the development of the business climate in Bulgaria. In their statements, MP's of the Bulgarian Socialist Party argued that the

National Bank largely takes the credit for the anti-inflationary policy despite "the government's resistance." An emphasis was laid on the great role and services of the bank's management and its governor Prof. Todor Vulchev for the overall successful operation of the central bank of Bulgaria.

Zhelev Discusses Current Issues at SDS Meeting

AU0208172792 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 28 Jul 92 p 1

[Kostantsa Borisova report: "This Time Zhelev Gathered the Coalition Together"]

[Text] A new term was created at the 27 July meeting between President Zhelyu Zhelev and the leaderships of the political parties in the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] coalition. National reconciliation was stripped of its Christian nuances and converted into a more pragmatic expression—national consensus. Particular attention was paid to this issue while the foundation upon which national consensus was to stand was being built—a foundation that consisted of replacement of the communist system, condemnation of those responsible for the national disaster, and decisive actions by the executive power on changing property ownership.

Some of those attending the meeting denied that there was embarrassment over the fact that at moments that were crucial for the SDS government, the president preferred to attend naval exercises in Burgas rather than to sit in his box in parliament. Zhelyu Zhelev explained that this was a basic misunderstanding because during the transport drivers' strike in Sofia, for example, he was in constant telephone contact with Filip Dimitrov.

The president commented on rumors that have appeared about preparations for a military coup, and firmly defended the idea of depoliticizing the Army, which should stand behind parliament, the government, and the presidency in the defense of all state institutions.

The meeting discussed the most popular current topics in domestic politics. Valentin Stoyanov, the president's spokesman, said that there was no disagreement and a consensus was reached.

As in the press, the discussion ranged over the mafia problem and attempts to destabilize the situation in the country, headings under which a large proportion of the leaderships of the SDS member parties are prepared to put the actions of certain circles outside the ruling coalition.

Certain representatives of the ASP [Alternative Social Liberal Party]—namely, Asen Michkovski and Nikolay Vasilev—drew attention to an article in the 27 July issue of PODKREPA that in a confused context, again attempted to represent Ilko Eskenazi, deputy prime minister for economic affairs, and Ventseslav Dimitrov, chairman of the Parliamentary Budget Commission, in a bad light. Asen Michkovski denied the words that the article alleged that he said with regard to Eskenazi and Dimitrov.

Our success in preserving our national image as an island of security and tranquillity depends primarily on our internal security and stability, Aleksandur Yordanov said at the meeting.

Nevertheless, the frank discussion failed to elicit a logical explanation as to why the president preferred to observe artillery fire on shore and at sea to the exchanges of shots in parliament.

Zhelev Fields Questions on National Call-In Show

AU0108180692 Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 1 Aug 92

[Text] Sofia, August 1 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev fielded questions from members of the public and journalists in a live televised and radio call-in show late last night [31 July].

"The communist system is doomed and no one can save it in any way. The question is to carry out decommunization in a sensible way, without stirring artificial tension and getting into difficulties and without discrediting the country with Europe," Dr. Zhelev believes.

He said he does not intend to run for a second term of office even though he can do so under the Constitution.

Asked whether it was true that there is another wave of emigration to Turkey, the president said that some 80,000 Bulgarian Turks have recently left for Turkey and another 140,000 have applied for emigration. According to Dr. Zhelev, this exodus is due to the serious economic problems facing this population. "I will insist on a special development programme for the mixed population areas where the situation is very hard," the president said.

Asked by the host of the show to predict how long the Filip Dimitrov cabinet would last and whether parliament will serve its full four-year term of office, the president said that it all depended on "the extent to which the government and parliament would work and do what society needs." "If the government manages to give the reforms a more powerful impetus, its stock will rise and its positions will be considerably strengthened," President Zhelev thinks. In his view, there are people who have taken undue advantage of the "Blue idea" (blue is the color of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces), but specific disclosures should be expected from several investigations under way now.

A number of questions to the president concerned the recent past. Dr. Zhelev has written a book on the totalitarian state. He was a well-known dissident under the communist regime, he is one of the founders and first leader of the Union of Democratic Forces.

The president denied having changed his attitude to the former Number One Todor Zhivkov since becoming head of state himself. "Zhivkov was a totalitarian dictator to the very last, and now that he is called to account for his deeds he must be treated as such," Dr. Zhelev said.

The president was the third Bulgarian politician after Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and Socialist leader Zhan Videnov to appear in a joint live call-in show, organized by National Television and National Radio.

Parliament Restores Property to Ethnic Turks

AU3107195792 Sofia BTA in English 1815 GMT 31 Jul 92

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpt] Sofia, July 31 (BTA)—At the last moment before its summer recess, parliament adopted some amendments to the Turnover Tax and Excise Duty Act. The national radio will have an acting director general as the nominee for the post was not discussed today. The new director general will be elected in September. The MP's [members of parliament] will be on vacation until September 2.

The National Assembly restored the immovable property ownership to the ethnic Turks who, forced into leaving the country by the assimilation campaign, had to sell their property and go abroad. Under the act people who in 1989 bought property that is now subject to restitution will be compensated by the state, receiving property of equal value if at that time they were included as most urgent elements in the waiting list for housing and if they did not acquire their ownership rights through using the party authority to their advantage. Aleksandur Yordanov, floor leader of the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces, described the act as the first great step towards national concord.

According to an initiative committee set up by people living in the regions populated by compact masses of ethnic Turks, the adoption of the act will cause quite a lot of problems. They believe that this version of the act will not restore social justice but rather mount social tension. At a press conference today the committee's representatives declared they would not give up their demands and would fight for the restoration of justice for both parties concerned, using all legal instruments.

Consultations were held between representatives of the Foreign Ministries of Bulgaria and Macedonia in Sofia today, BTA learned from the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry's spokesman. There was an exchange of views on bilateral relations and on current international affairs, including the situation in the Balkans.

In August the Embassy of Iran in Bulgaria will present a list of goods Iranian businessmen are interested in. This was agreed today at the meeting of Bulgarian Minister of Trade Aleksandur Pramatarski and Iranian Ambassador Sayyed Homayun Amir-Khalili. Bulgaria's exports for Iran consist of cigarettes, tobacco, machines, electrical equipment, chemicals, fertilizers, medicines, meat and cheese, its main import is petroleum mainly. The programme of the Bulgarian-Iranian Committee for Sci-Technical and Economic Cooperation, which will sit in Tehran in September, was also discussed. [passage omitted]

Migration of Ethnic Turks From Kurdzhali Continues

AU3107195892 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 31 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 31 (BTA)—According to the police, far more people have left the region of Kurdzhali (southeastern Bulgaria, a region with a compact population of ethnic Turks) since 1990 than in the summer of 1989. This was announced in a report made by the Plovdiv Television Centre.

According to the report, it is calm at the Kapitan Andreevo checkpoint now, there are no huge crowds of people as there were at the time of the 1989 mass migration wave, when ethnic Turks were leaving Bulgaria because of the coercive change of their names.

Customs officers say that they handle 10-15 families a day.

The local leaders of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms told the interviewing television journalist that the migration had not stopped at all. An increase has been observed over the past two months, they said. The precise number of those leaving the country is not known, they are supposed to be tens of thousands of ethnic Turks. Some villages in the area of Ardino, Dzhebel, Momchilgrad and Krumovo have been completely deserted. At least ten coaches a week are leaving the region. According to the report, there are two reasons for the growing migration—a rumour says that there will be a new change of names and that everybody who goes to Turkey before the census of the population is taken in that country can stay there; besides, in the years after 1989 most people have established contacts with Turkey, making arrangements for their life there in advance—90 percent have relatives there, many have bought land or opened accounts with foreign banks.

For the time being no migration from other regions with a compact population of ethnic Turks is observed.

KNSB Notes Rise in Ethnic Turks' Jobless Rate

AU3007182492 Sofia BTA in English 1731 GMT 30 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 30 (BTA)—The jobless total in areas with a compact Turkish population reached 40 per cent, hitting in some settlements 80 per cent of the labour force, the president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) Krustyu Petkov told

journalists, quoting unofficial data. In his view, this has led to a sharp increase of the number of Bulgarian Turks emigrating to Turkey.

The reasons are both economic and social, according to Prof. Petkov. Livelihood limited to a single branch, the ongoing land reform and the closure of enterprises without guaranteeing jobs to laid-off employees urges people to look for work abroad, he thinks.

The KNSB sent a written invitation to the leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) Ahmed Dogan to attend a meeting on these problems. After visiting the regions in question, Prof. Petkov and KNSB experts got the impression that people are increasingly disappointed with the weak protection of their interests by the DPS.

The DPS has reservations about the cabinet precisely because of the latter's lack of concern with the social and economic predicament of Bulgarian Turks, according to the KNSB leader.

These issues may be settled by direct dialogue between the DPS and the trade union amalgamations, according to the KNSB. For their part, the trade unions will try and help through the social partnership system and keep up pressure on parliament, Prof. Petkov said.

Dogan Predicts Fall of SDS Government

AU0208195392 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 28 Jul 92 p 6

[Interview with Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement, by Pepa Vitanova; place and date not given: "The Cabinet Is Creating Conditions for Administrative Dictatorship"—reprinted from 168 CHASA]

[Text] [Vitanova] Well, Mr. Dogan, irrespective of the orange card that you showed, in the opinions of Messrs. Savov, Al. Yordanov, and Luchnikov, the outcome now is that the government has nevertheless proved that it is stronger than ever....

[Dogan] The situation reminds me of a childish reaction. You hear a noise in the cellar, so you go up to the attic, see that nothing is happening there, and say to yourself: "Look what a strong, brave fellow I am, I am not scared." I am sure that the beginning of the fall of the cabinet has now really started, which was inevitable following its aggressively publicized antitrade union policy. Whether or not the government has launched an attack on the trade unions, it still wants to buy itself a return ticket. In the language of politics this means the following: If the government does not win, and in this case there is no way that the cabinet can emerge as the victor, it is dooming itself to returning to square one in its political career.

The government is inadequate. I have serious grounds for claiming that the real prime minister is Kostov, not Filip Dimitrov. Kostov is playing games through Filip Dimitrov's advisers. Certain advisers may even put the prime minister in jail through their abuses. This situation also reflects on the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] as a whole, and on its parliamentary group.

In fact, at the basis of this preconflict situation surrounding the no-confidence vote in the cabinet lies the fact that the SDS, especially the government, continues to do a strong-arm act, when it is so weak that it cannot even organize its own administration.

There is something dangerous in the work of the executive power, something that I have always avoided stating. By continuing with its strong-arm act, the cabinet is adopting a hard line and is creating conditions for imposing a so-called administrative dictatorship. Action on administrative principles based on force is an extremely dangerous precedent.

The premise that Mr. Dimitrov has been defending lately—namely, that the defense of state institutions should lie at the basis of democracy—suggests gloomy associations with totalitarian regimes. Once the institutions displace society and man, there can no longer be any question of democracy.

[Vitanova] Dr. Trenchev even spoke of elements of promoting fascism in our political reality....

[Dogan] I think that the symptoms are not so much of promoting fascism as of making the system totalitarian, with the aim of creating conditions for the reappearance of throwbacks from the past. It is a paradox that the first democratic government has started to use undemocratic tactics. In all democratic states the police carries out important functions. However, to send out the Red Berets willy-nilly is a sign of weakness, of some sort of peculiar compensation mechanism that may have unforeseeable consequences.

[Vitanova] Should one regard your vote against the government as a warning, a hint, or an original sort of test for the government?

[Dogan] It was certainly not a hint, but a warning pure and simple. It is an initial response, a call for a real dialogue on forming a new cabinet, or at least on replacing many members of the present one. You understand, it is not a question of a casual vote. Everything in our parliamentary group is coordinated. My ballot paper did not represent my personal vote. In the language of politics, when a chairman votes differently from his own parliamentary group, this is a very serious message. The votes of the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] parliamentary group should not be regarded as a confidence vote, but as a desire to save the Blue [SDS] idea. Even at the time of the previous cabinet reshuffle we came out with a declaration to continue talks on renewing the team with new, more suitable people. This did not happen. We have emphasized on every occasion that we share no common position with the SDS regarding the work of the government.

[Vitanova] What would you do if you were in Filip Dimitrov's place?

[Dogan] I would resign.

[Vitanova] You said on the "Panorama" television program that a "Rasputin syndrome" has started to operate in the government through the prime minister's advisers.

[Dogan] Inside the cabinet, the spirit of Rasputin has entered into adviser Mishev. He is some kind of nobody who came from somewhere or other, having learned God knows what; he is simply a kind of dark figure who sticks his nose into everything, a person with undefined powers of authority, aggressive, brazen, a champion of intrigue, who has been granted exceptional rights to give orders. He trots to and fro between the government, presidency, and parliament, and especially between the government, presidency, and the mass media. He specializes in creating intrigues and false personal files. If this man continues like this, I have already decided to bring him to court. You cannot meddle in politics with impunity as if you were playing poker because you always have to be aware that bigger mafiosi than you exist.

[Vitanova] You clearly have certain evidence available against adviser Mishev because it is not your practice to name specific persons as you are doing now. In fact, this is the second time since Sokolov that you are criticizing a specific person.

[Dogan] Yes, we have extremely precise facts against him that permit me to state that I intend to bring him to court. This is a man suitable for investigation.

[Vitanova] Do you feel that Konstantin Mishev has a very strong interest in Kostov remaining in the finance minister post for as long as possible?

[Dogan] Their relations are very shady. I do not want to involve Kostov, but it is necessary to carefully clarify matters connected with Neftokhim and Khimimport.

[Vitanova] You have been keeping an eye on Mr. Kostov for some time now. Immediately following the parliamentary elections, he declared that the DPS economic program was unrealistic.

[Dogan] I will tell you again, it is very risky when a man believes that he is extremely competent and when everyone else's opinion seems to him to be unrealistic. I may add that I also regard the government's economic program as highly unrealistic. This is not a program, but a throwback, a return to the past, when the state controls everything and the finance minister presides over the final court of appeal. I do not know whether Kostov thinks he is a genius or a unique figure, since he claims that he works with "the only right set of tools." In a situation that requires more flexibility in the methodology used for economics, it is extremely dangerous to impose a single view and a single principle for building structures in relevant economic units. The monetary principle has reached the limits of its possibilities in our country. With a finance minister who has turned into a kind of Cerberus who takes everything into his hands, gives nothing away, and does not permit the private companies to breathe, we will not get anywhere.

I would like to use this opportunity to state that in the beginning we also had some critical remarks about Minister Sokolov. However, after May it became clear that he is a man of principle, and at the moment he is doing very good work.

[Vitanova] How long, in your opinion, will the cabinet survive in this form?

[Dogan] I have never committed myself to deadlines. This time, however, I will do so. The ultimate deadline should not be later than September.

[Vitanova] In this situation, it seems that the agreement between the SDS and DPS will not be signed soon.

[Dogan] Look here, at the moment such an agreement will not solve the problems. Until the positions are defined, there is no point in signing agreements. It should be clear from the outset that, since we have a parliamentary majority, the SDS should listen to our demands—that they are not in the least directed against it, against national interests, or against the democratization processes in Bulgaria. Unless clarity is achieved on these matters, an agreement will only tie our hands.

[Vitanova] Will the DPS participate in a remodeled version of the present cabinet?

[Dogan] We do not intend to participate in weak governments.

[Vitanova] It has been rumored that your Blue [SDS] friends threatened your parliamentary group with disclosure of the personal files if you failed to vote in support of the government in the no-confidence motion. Tell us once and for all, is there any reason for the DPS, and you personally, to fear that the safes will be unlocked?

[Dogan] When Ahmed Dogan was languishing in prison, certain people were sleeping peacefully, while imagining that they were doing something. Should we tell the truth, should we see who has done what for this democracy? Since they want it so much, let them go ahead and declassify the personal files. As far as a dozen or so people in the government and parliament are concerned, it will cause the ground to shift under their feet. However, a more complex moral-political problem also exists. Even if some people in the DPS do have personal files, I would speak out most strongly in their support. Under the communists everyone with a strong personality had a file, no one would have recruited the faceless wonders. The communists set their sights on intelligent people, while the loafers, who always prefer to stay in the background, are now demonstrating a Balkan syndrome, by saying: Let us unmask the people who stand in our way. This is a typical manifestation of an inferiority complex and a sense of one's own failure. People who have forced their way into some political or other present-day scene have begun to rummage in the dirty

linen of the past. Even today, political agents still exist. I am against Department Six [of the former State Security], the so-called political police, but it still continues to exist. I have reliable information that telephone tapping is still taking place. Let us shed the light of day on this dirty business, and not bother with the issue of who did what at some time in the past. The problem is that the political police still exists. The Turkish section, which is most overloaded with work, still remains untouched. Generals who murdered people during the revival process [campaign to forcibly change names of Bulgarian Muslims] are still at liberty.

[Vitanova] Finally, I would like to ask you about a more cheerful matter. I understand that your parliamentary group is preparing a bill to legalize prostitution. Why precisely has the DPS tackled this sensitive problem? Does the brothel represent a strange kind of nostalgia for the lost harem?

[Dogan] (laughs) Why nostalgia? I do not have a harem, and have never had one. It is simply that we must deal with this problem that is of no small importance for our country—especially since politics and prostitution have much in common. The bill will be submitted to parliament after summer vacation. Briefly, girls over 18 years of age will be able to practice this ancient profession (the others will have to wait). They will be subject to regular medical supervision, and the prostitutes will be able to form their own trade unions, thus freeing themselves from the terror of pimps. It is also not unimportant that Minister Kostov will gain from this law. Certain deductions will be made for his ministry. We envisage establishing brothels near barracks and prisons because we are convinced that this will reduce the number of violent crimes.

Party Ties of Deputies in SDS Coalition Detailed

AU3107125992 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 23 Jul 92 p 2

[Ruen Krumov article: "Shifts in the Union of Democratic Forces"—names in boldface are those of members of the "Group of 39," who walked out of the Grand National Assembly in mid-1991 to protest the new constitution; boldface was not used in the original text]

[Text] One should not forget that, apart from being a movement, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is also a coalition of parties. Do you know the party to which each of the 110 SDS National Assembly deputies belongs? I doubt it, because from the inquiry that I made among the deputies, it turns out that they were only sure of the names of the party leaders and the party affiliations of the more prominent SDS deputies. Under the National Assembly's Code of Procedure, an individual party group can only be registered if it has at least 15 members (in the Grand National Assembly the minimum figure was 10). Not a single party in the SDS coalition has registered its deputies separately, although in fact only two of them are entitled to do so. Only a common SDS parliamentary group is registered.

I consulted the electronic record stored in the computer in the National Assembly library. The result was not very encouraging. For example, it turned out that only 12 deputies were registered as members of the Democratic Party, whereas party leader Stefan Savov has already declared that his party has more than 20 deputies.

My own attempt to establish the truth was far from easy. Three party leaders even told me that the same deputy was one of their members. When I interviewed the deputy in question, he declared to me that he is "a nonparty member of the SDS".... The phenomenon that I have already mentioned—namely, that a number of deputies change their political affiliations as often as they put on a clean pair of socks—is still completely valid.

It emerged from my first check that the Radical Democratic Party [RDP] has the most deputies, 18 in all, whose names are: Aleksandur Dzherov, **Aleksandur Yordanov**, Asparukh Panov, Georgi Karev, Georgi Panev, Emil Kapudaliev, Zakhari Raykov, Yordan Ganev, Yordan Todorov, Krasimir Stoyanov, Milko Enchev, **Mikhail Nedelchev**, Neven Penev, **Nikolay Slatinski**, Nikolay Khristov, Rumen Urumov, Khristo Todorov, and Yani Milchakov. Ivan Floreskov used to belong to this group, but he left the National Assembly when Ivan Pushkarov reassumed his seat as a member. Two members of the RDP are serving as ministers: **Elka Konstantinova** and Svetoslav Luchnikov (the latter was appointed minister as a nonparty member, but later joined the RDP).

The Democratic Party [DP] has 10 deputies in the National Assembly, of whom two, Aleksandur Staliyski and Vekil Vanov, were appointed ministers. A sizable group of SDS deputies joined the party in parliament; seven National Assembly deputies who had been elected as nonparty members and three from other formations changed over to the DP, so that it now has 18 members in parliament: Aleksandur Karadimov, Vasil Gotsev, Velislava Gyurova, Veselina Rasheeva (formerly nonparty), **Vladislav Daskalov** (formerly a member of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, then a member of the Movement for Defense of Democracy, then nonparty), **Vladimir Dzhaferov** (formerly a member of the Green Party, then nonparty), **Georgi Markov**, **Georgi Ignatov**, Doncho Papazov (formerly a member of the Movement for Civic Initiative), Emil Nedkov (formerly nonparty), **Zlatka Ruseva**, Konstantin Razmov (formerly nonparty), Milen Stoyanov (formerly a member of the Union of the Repressed), Radko Pandurski (formerly nonparty), Petur M. Petrov (formerly nonparty), **Stefan Savov**, Stoyan Raychevski, Khristo Markov (formerly a member of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Youth Union in the SDS). Rashko Rashkov, who I was told is a DP member, personally assured me that he was nonparty. The DP has three ministers: **Aleksandur Pramatarski**

(formerly a member of the Green Party, then nonparty), Aleksandur Staliyski, and Vekil Vanov.

The United Democratic Center is the third largest group, with 14 deputies: **Ventseslav Dimitrov**, Verzhiniya Velcheva (formerly nonparty), Georgi Tsonev (formerly nonparty), Dragiya Dragiev (formerly nonparty), Ekaterina Mikhyalova, Ivan Tosev (formerly a member of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Yuoth Union in the SDS), Yordan Kutsarov, Lyubomir Pavlov, Nino Stavrov, Petur Kharizanov, Radka Vasileva (formerly nonparty), Stanko Stanev, Marin Todorov, and Todor Panushliev (formerly a member of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party). The United Democratic Center has two ministers: **Stoyan Ganev** and **Ilko Eskenazi**.

The fourth largest party group, with 10 deputies, is the Social Democratic Party [SDP] led by Ivan Kurtev. The group includes **Dimitur Kumanov**, Ivan Kurtev, Ivan Pushkarov, Manol Todorov, Margarit Minkov, Nencho Nenchev, Petko Petkov, Ruslan Semerdzhiev, Svilena Zakharieva, and Tsvetan Dimitrov. Aleksandur Aleksandrov is an SDP minister.

The Federation of Democracy Clubs [FKD] has six deputies. The FKD has no prominent personalities following the departures of Blaga Dimitrova, following her election as vice president; her husband Yordan Vasilev, who resigned his seat; and Dimitur Ludzhev, who declared himself nonparty after losing his ministerial post. The group includes Ivan Budinov, Nikola Mishev, Petur Khr. Petrov, Khristo Ivanov, and Charodey Chernev. The FKD has no ministers at present.

Although small in size, the six-member group of the Alternative Social Liberal Party plays a very important role in parliament as the nucleus of the parliamentary lobby of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. The members of the group are Asen Michkovski, Valentin Karabashev, Georgi Kostov, Emil Tsochev (formerly nonparty), Ilian Shotlekov, and Marin Marinov. The Alternative Social Liberal Party has two ministers: Nikolay Vasilev and Rumen Bikov.

The following groups each have four members: the Bulgarian Democratic Forum (former Legionnaires): Vasil Zlatarov, Vladimir Abadzhiev, Dako Mikhaylov (formerly nonparty), and Stefan Chanev; the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union in the SDS: Atanas Mateev, Georgi Petrov, Petur Todorov, and Yanko Kozhukharov (formerly nonparty); and Ecoglasnost: **Edvin Sugarev**, Zdravko Katsarov, Krasimir Stefanov, and Luchezar Toshev. Ecoglasnost has one minister—Valentin Vasilev.

Four members who split from the Green Party now form the Conservative Ecological Party. They are Ivaylo Lovdzhiev, Ruslan Serbezov, Svobodka Stefanova, and Khristo Biserov. Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, is a member of this party.

The Christian Democratic Union has three members: Pavel Shopov, Plamen Yovchev (formerly nonparty), and Stefan Karadzhov.

The following groups each have two members in parliament: "Salvation" Christian Union—Stefan Stefanov and Khristofor Subev; Movement for Civic Initiative—Petur Markov and Krasimir Chernev; and the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights—Emil Yurukov and Sasho Stoyanov.

The New Social Democratic Party has one National Assembly member—Vasil Mikhaylov—as has the Constitutional Union, whose member is Margarit Mitsev.

The number of nonparty members, which reached 26 at one point, has fallen considerably after several nonparty members joined various parties, especially the Democratic Party. A reversal, albeit slight, is now taking place. The nonparty members presently include the following 11 deputies: Angel Antonov, Vidyo Videv (formerly a member of the Movement for Civic Initiative), Dimitur Ludzhev (formerly a member of the FKD), Gospodin Atanasov, Zvezdelin Kafedzhiev, Konstantin Todorov, Rashko Rashkov, Rositsa Stoycheva, Romil Popov, **Snezhana Botusharova**, and Stefan Bozhilov.

Nonparty ministers include Georgi Stoyanov, Ivan Kostov, Yordan Sokolov, Nikola Vasilev, and Nikola Karadimov.

Of the original members of the Group of 39 in the Grand National Assembly, 13 are members of the present National Assembly and four are ministers.

Division of Military Assets in State Split Viewed

LD0408230192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 2000 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] The Slovak National Council Petition, Legal Protection, and Security Committee invited CSFR Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak to its session today. The meeting was closed to public. Ladislav Polka and Jan (Stola), the chairman and deputy chairman of the committee gave journalists some information about it.

[Begin recording] [Polka] We wanted to learn from Minister Andrejcak about the quantitative, qualitative, and chronological indicators of the army's reorganization and redeployment. We wanted to know in what way and how these actions are planned, what support there is and what real progress is being made.

[Unidentified speaker] How is the redeployment progressing? Is it going according to schedule?

[Polka] Well, with the exception of the air force, it is possible to say that it is going according to schedule. As far as the air force is concerned, there is a very basic problem because Slovak airports were not built to handle the latest aviation technology. The minister explained that defense was unilaterally oriented against the former enemy and thus everything was built in Czech airports. He cited the economic possibilities, as it were. And it is particularly the economic possibilities which are standing in the way of ensuring in a timely manner Slovakia's defense capability as far as air defense and air force are concerned.

[(Stola)] The army is also waiting for a political decision [on the division of the state]. And thus if a decision is made and if a law is promulgated after being endorsed by the Federal Assembly, we will start to divide the state—and I firmly believe that we shall start dividing the state—from this will then ensue that we will be conducting our talks on a different level, even with regard to the army, to weapons system, and to weapons.

[Unidentified speaker] What are your views about the possibility of building a home guard, in other words, of building territorial defense forces in our country, in our conditions?

[Polka] The minister described this problem as a problem of conceptions. Some home guard units already exist in Slovakia. They may be (?cells)—regretfully insufficiently organized and armed as yet—or they may be (?military) guard regiments, accompanying, for example, transit consignments on the territory of the Slovak Republic, or they may be guards battalions guarding certain facilities because of their importance, for example nuclear power plants, fuel depots, and other facilities. These are units which have the character of home guard units.

[Unidentified speaker] Mr. Chairman, you said that there are signals that the division could take place to Slovakia's detriment or that Slovakia could be disadvantaged to a certain extent in this process. Were there any specific questions in this respect? And how did the minister answer them?

[Polka] You see, I think that billions and billions—and I dare claim that at issue are hundreds of billions—were built into the Czech Republic over the 40 years, as it were. These are various military facilities, colleges, health establishments, etc. And so, I think that this will be the biggest bone of contention in striking an agreement in the process of division, because these facilities were naturally built from the revenue generated here, by Slovak labor. And this is the main reason why we should come to an agreement in this respect, because this is the (?source) of this money. With regard to the armaments and weapons systems, I think that good will exists in this respect, both on the Czech and on the Slovak side, to come to an agreement on a two to one ratio, both in terms of quantity and of quality. It may be that numerically it will not be exactly two to one since the qualitative aspect still has to be discussed.

[(Stola)] I said how much it should cost. It is unlikely that it can be precisely enumerated at present. Intensive work is already in progress on drafting the plan. [end recording]

Interview With Cermak Details FSIS Division

AU0408170192 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 3 Aug 92 pp 1,2

[Interview with Federal Interior Minister Petr Cermak by Sabina Slonkova; place and date not given: "The Foundations of Our State Are Not Laid on the Secret Service"]

[Text] Following the agreement reached on 23 July, the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] will, among other things, initiate a legal amendment in the Federal Assembly delimiting the Federal Security and Information Service [FSIS] to the republican counterintelligence services. We asked Federal Interior Minister Petr Cermak about the details of the FSIS' division.

[Slonkova] HZDS Spokesman Jozef Sucha recently conceded that the FSIS may be misused if it is not reorganized and if it continues to operate as it has done until now. The FSIS itself came out with a report a few weeks ago that a proposal has been submitted in Slovakia to establish the republic's own secret service, a service that would be subordinate to Vladimir Meciar. He described this report as nonsense. Nevertheless, according to an unidentified Christian Democratic Movement representative, Vladimir Meciar intends to constitute such a service after the FSIS is divided and to subordinate it to himself. He also, allegedly, intends to separate the Interior Ministry into a state administration and a police force with the proviso that the state administration is subordinate to the Government Office, that is, to its

prime minister above all. The first signs of this subordination should, allegedly, crop up in the government draft Slovak Constitution....

[Cermak] I do not know of any instance whereby FSIS activity would slip out of the control of its legal framework or whereby this secret service would be misused in the manner you describe. I have not noticed it monitoring my activity or that of my colleagues, or doing anything similar. Of course, I cannot say what the situation is like in Slovakia. However, it is necessary to say that—from the point of view of supervising the security services—the prime minister plays a vital role, because the service receives its orders through him. The prime minister's role regarding the secret services is, in its own way, unique. From the point of view of the Interior Ministries, there is a problem here in combining state service with police force duty with respect to membership of the police force.

[Slonkova] It has been said on more than one occasion that, after the state breaks up, the two secret services would come into conflict at our—temporarily—joint embassies, embassies that have often served as a residence for our secret services....

[Cermak] Our embassies are not currently involved in any such activity, especially in friendly countries. It is an oversimplification to assume that our embassies would serve as a residence for the secret services. This was certainly the case at embassies under the communists, but the political and intelligence situation is completely different from what it was three years ago.

[Slonkova] Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml said recently that certain steps have already been taken toward the FSIS' transformation. Could you be more specific?

[Cermak] I think it is pointless to overestimate the secret services. The foundations of this state are not laid on them. As far as the specific steps are concerned, this is, first and foremost, a legislative sphere. We are working on this sphere now. This means preparing republican laws on the security and information service. Another step involves creating the most suitable prerequisites for delimitation.

[Slonkova] Are there any views on making personnel changes among the ranks of the security services?

[Cermak] Each republic will, obviously, try to place a trustworthy person at the head of the secret service. The selection procedure will certainly be complicated. The governments and parliament will play a role here. I feel that, above all, this post should not be politically influenced, because the secret service has to submit unfavorable reports as well as favorable reports to the governments. At the moment, I do not know of any candidate. Obviously, a coordinating committee will be established where both services should—without influencing each other—inform each other of what is going on.

[Slonkova] During transformation, how will the secret service's archives be divided?

[Cermak] Dividing the archives will be very complicated. This is not so much a political issue as a technical issue. It is very problematic, because some archives can be copied and divided, while this is impossible for others. Not only politicians, but also experts have to deal with this matter.

[Slonkova] During the talks between the ODS and the HZDS, was anything said about guaranteeing supervision of the secret services?

[Cermak] The parliament and government of the appropriate state must always have control over these services. The worst cases of all are when the secret services assign themselves tasks independently.

Referendum Seen as 'Counter' to Slovakia's Interests

LD0508161292 Prague CSTK in English 1354 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] Bratislava Aug 5 (CSTK)—Calling a referendum at present would run counter to Slovakia's interests since it might lead to complications in the succession of the Czech and Slovak Republics to the Czechoslovak Federation, Slovak Premier and HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] Chairman Vladimir Meciar said today. He was speaking at a meeting with members of the Slovak National Council (parliament) at which he brought them up to date on the talks between the HZDS and the ODS [Civic Democratic Party], the republic winners in the June 5-6 elections.

Meciar said that if a referendum is held "and people vote for (preserving) the federation, there will be no need for new elections since the HZDS offered in its election programme five ways of solving Czechoslovakia's setup". He also criticised Federal Deputy Premier Rudolf Filkus of the HZDS for saying that a postponement of the ratification of Czechoslovakia's EC association accord would place the country behind Romania and Bulgaria in the line to get into the EC. "The world will accept us", Meciar told the deputies, adding that Slovakia's signing the agreement would be merely a "technicality".

(At Saturday's [1 August] session of the HZDS leadership, Filkus told CSTK the European Parliament's decision to postpone the accord's ratification "will cost us a lot. It is sad that we will have to stand behind Romania and Bulgaria, ... Especially since the agreement should have been ratified in September".)

Meciar announced he would soon pay an official visit to Budapest, mainly to discuss Slovak-Hungarian relations. Neighbouring countries since "Slovakia's integration with the EC is a long-term process having no time limits". [sentence as received]

Commenting on talks between his party and the Czech ODS concerning Czechoslovakia's future state setup, Meciar said the reason they seek a minimum of common interests in their agreements is that each side is defending the interests of citizens in its own republic. According to him, only certain sections of the two parties' July 23 agreement have been released to the public. The rest, Meciar said, is "in the safes of the ODS and HZDS party offices". He did not give any clues as to the contents of the unreleased material.

Property Division Needed First

AU0408175492 Prague CSTK in English 1951 GMT 31 Jul 92

[Text] Cadca, East Slovakia July 31 (CSTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today said he unequivocally supports the idea of a referendum on the future of Czechoslovakia, but only when the method of dividing the Czechoslovak Federation property between the Czech and Slovak republics is known definitively. He added that Czechoslovakia's external debt currently totals 9,800 million dollars.

Speaking here at a rally, Meciar touched upon the future of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project on the Danube and said that the 1,900 million crowns (63,333 million U.S. dollars) necessary for the completion of the project must be found in the budget as the hydroelectric plant should be put into operation by the end of this year.

Slovak Government Meets; Czech Presence Denied

LD0508100692 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 0730 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] Representatives of the Slovak Government did not hold talks with representatives of the Czech Government in the High Tatras mountains yesterday; it was only a session of the Slovak Government. This was stated in a telephone call to CSTK by Slovak Government spokesman Bohuslav Geci, who also denied the information he had given yesterday afternoon.

At a news conference after the session of the cabinet of Prime Minister Meciar, Bohuslav Geci told journalists that Vladimir Meciar and three other members of the Slovak Government should meet a delegation of the Czech Government in High Tatras and that the two delegations should discuss issues connected with the possible division of the republic.

Bohuslav Geci, however, told CSTK last night that it was only an ordinary working session of the government of the Slovak Republic. On the issue of the presence of members of the Czech Government he said: It seems that nobody from the Czech Government is there. Regarding the fact that at the news conference he had given journalists wrong information, Bohuslav Geci explained that he had provided this information without previous consultation.

No information was provided about the session which was held until almost midnight at Kamzik Hotel in Stary Smokovec behind closed doors. The only thing that could be established was the presence at the session of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and members of his cabinet, Milan Knazko and Julius Toth. Journalists were unable to confirm the presence of Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna, who was to take part at the meeting according to previous information. An unofficial source informed the journalists that nobody from the Czech side took part in the talks and that it was only a meeting of Slovak representatives.

Czech Prime Minister Discusses Economic Situation

LD0408211892 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Weekly interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Vaclav Musilek; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Musilek] Prime minister, according to a report on Czechoslovakia's economic development, there are signs of a revival in the form of increased output in the construction sector and a growth in consumer demand has started to manifest itself. Does this mean that what is called the economic bottoming out is now behind us?

[Klaus] I will be circumspect in talking about this matter and will add a caveat of uncertainty regarding what I am going to say. As you surely know, each month, since April or May this year, we have been carrying out a very careful analysis of data to arrive at a more precise picture. Regarding what you said, there is undoubtedly a revival in building activities. Retail trade turnover has grown markedly. We are in possession of data for the spring months of this year, before the onset of summer. However, at present there is a certain chaos regarding the statistical data. The state-owned trade sector has collapsed and data about the activities of private retail trade was recorded in a rather peculiar way. The result is that now I do not know whether this data is correct or not. I am saying this with a sigh, but I simply cannot do anything about it and I do not know whether I can trust these figures. Therefore, we have certain reservations about those figures pointing to a revival because they have not been accompanied by a growth in tax yields. They have not grown and these are solid figures. State budgets simply either have tax yields from the turnover tax or they do not. And although the data has pointed to there being a growth in retail turnover, there has not been an increase in taxes reflected in the state budget or, rather, they have not grown as we would have desired. I have to say that initial data for the whole of June indicates, however, that there has been a shift in tax yields—perhaps these reflect a delay in gathering data—with the result that the turnover tax has exceeded the much desired level of 10 billion korunas per month. I believe, therefore, that this constitutes another signal

that has not as yet been analyzed and assessed in the media and I hope that this will happen.

[Musilek] Of course, one can ask whether we will fall back to the bottom as a consequence of a possible split in the federation.

[Klaus] This is quite possible because the economy is such a fragile organism that any bad news has an impact on economic developments. Let us say that it does not need to have a considerable impact on consumer demand, but I do not know what will happen with demand for investment, I do not know what the reaction of the foreign markets will be. Although we are trying to calm things down by saying that everything is relatively calm and peaceful, the foreign markets have their own way of thinking. Naturally, it is possible that the current constitutional chaos will have an impact on the economy. Yes, that is so, unfortunately, and it is a pity. Without this complication the transformation could have been completed by this time, but now there is a possibility that we will face further complications.

[Musilek] Talking about complications, in recent days unfavorable reports have appeared about the agreement of association with the European Community. I personally have the impression that some states whose turn it is to conclude similar agreements of association are lobbying for this and that they feel that it might be easier for them if we drop out.

[Klaus] This is a nice view, but I am glad that it was you who said it, that it came out of your mouth and that no one can say that it was the Czech prime minister who said it. But (?in order not to be pretentious) I have to admit that a lot of it is true. On the other hand, it seems to me that there is a certain danger here for the West. [Words indistinct] if I were an official in the European Commission or in some organization in Brussels, I would of course say that there is no need to rush things. As a prime minister I always say that there is no need to rush the drafting of the Czech Constitution. This does not mean that we must compete with the Slovak Government about who will be the first to hand in a final version of a constitution. If I were an official in Brussels, in the European Community, I would say: Let us wait for a few weeks or months to see what Czechoslovakia will do. I really cannot see any reason to see the situation in a catastrophic light. It seems very logical to me, and it does not matter at all because it will make no difference to us whether the agreement of association is ratified a few weeks earlier or later. I think that everyone who wants to create catastrophic scenarios is making a mistake.

[Musilek] The government has recently established a council of economic ministers. Mr. prime minister, why was there a need to create such a council?

[Klaus] Well, I would say that it is not a council that has been established. I am against all institutionalization and that is why I protest against Visegrad Troikas and Hexagonals. I think that we should cooperate with Hungary, Poland, Austria, and with other states, but this does not mean that we should employ thousands of bureaucrats, give them high salaries, and send them abroad all the time to attend meetings of this or that commission. I repeat again that I am against institutionalizing things. The fact that economic ministers must constantly consult each other is a completely different thing. So when I became deputy federal premier, we de facto scrapped the institution of the Economic Council and began initiating regular meetings of economic ministers. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] The former socialist constitution contained quite extensive provisions about state economic policy. What does the new Czech Constitution envisage in this respect? Will it contain any provisions at all about the economy?

[Klaus] I would not like it to contain these provisions. But the core of the liberal system, [word indistinct] of the economic and civic system is, of course, the right to ownership. But this right to ownership exists in a broad sense of the word and not just in the sense that a proprietor of a private shop is an owner. In the broader sense ownership is the very core of the liberal constitutional code [words indistinct]. And thus, personal ownership, and private ownership must be a starting point of our entire Czech Constitution and I am going to see that this is the case. This point is directly followed by the second step, which is also a basis of the liberal constitution, which is the sanctity, the inviolability of agreement, of a contract. What this means is that if two subjects agree, if they conclude a contract, then this contract is a basis for everything. And thus the concept of ownership plus the sanctity of the contract represent the true heart of the constitution and our constitution will certainly contain this concept. Although something I could describe as the economic chapter of the constitution could possibly evolve from it, it should not be about economic policy. It should, indeed, not be the case.

Szabad Meets With Armenian Foreign Minister

LD0308183292 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 3 (MTI)—Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, on Monday [3 August] met Raffi Hovannisian, foreign minister of the Republic of Armenia, who is paying an official visit to Hungary.

In cordial atmosphere, Szabad stressed the need to strengthen relations, and appreciated the historic change which made it possible for the interests of the two nations to be expressed and represented. The speaker said the Armenian minister's visit served that purpose.

Szabad gave briefs on Hungarian legislation, and the work of the Hungarian Parliament's elected delegates in the various international organisations, primarily in the interest of preventing and resolving conflicts through negotiations.

The Armenian foreign minister appreciated the merits of the Hungarian Parliament in the transformation of the region, with emphasis being laid on enforcing minority rights.

Szabad confirmed the standing invitation to Hungary of the Armenian speaker of parliament.

Agreement Reached on Hydroelectric Project

LD0508100992 Budapest MTI in English 0903 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 5 (MTI)—Czechoslovak foreign minister and the Hungarian ambassador to Czechoslovakia agreed Tuesday [4 August] to resolve the issue of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project.

Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik met with Ambassador Gyorgy Varga in Prague, where both agreed that problems with the hydroelectric scheme should be resolved in a way acceptable to both countries.

Moravcik said good neighbourly relations were of the utmost importance for the two countries, and stressed the need to develop cooperation between Hungary and both the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Extradition Accords With Neighboring States Planned

AU0308123592 Budapest MTI in English 1904 GMT 30 Jul 92

[Text] Budapest, 30 July (MTI)—Extradition agreements and the investigation into three insolvent banks were the focus of the Hungarian Government's executive session on Thursday [30 July].

Hungary will conclude extradition agreements first with its neighbours and then with other European countries, according to government spokeswomen Judit Juhasz, while the investigation into the three bankrupt banks, insolvent since early July, has shown that the banks' problems were mainly due to mismanagement.

Under the extradition agreements, signatories would take back border violators, Juhasz said, they would take back their own citizens and those from third countries who had been legally staying in their state.

The first agreement will be signed with Romania, from where most border violators come into Hungary.

A request to take back offenders can be submitted within 90 days of a border violation and a reply then must be made within three days.

Agreements with Austria and Slovenia were being prepared and talks were underway with Czechoslovakia, Juhasz said.

Meanwhile, the government discussed developments in the investigation of the three bankrupt banks, the General Bank for Venture Financing, the Ybl Bank, and the Gyomaendrod Savings Cooperative. Willfully negligent credit dealings were also suspected, Industry and Trade Minister Ivan Szabo said. In addition, investigators were examining whether the State Property Agency took the proper legal steps in privatizing Ybl. In their view, the transfer to private owners of the state's interest in the bank, worth 300 million forints, was "suspiciously quick." It was just before the bank law took effect last December.

The investigation is still underway. The government will discuss the issue again at next week's session.

Inspectors Arrive for Arms Verification

LD0508092192 Budapest MTI in English 1701 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—Foreign military inspectors arrived in Hungary for the first time since the agreement on European conventional armed forces came into effect on July 17.

They are to examine and authenticate the data provided by the Republic of Hungary, the Hungarian Ministry of Defence informed MTI on Tuesday [4 August].

In accordance with the British side's request, a mixed group—seven British and two Italian inspectors—arrived at Budapest's Ferihegy Airport with a military transport aircraft of the Royal Air Force.

The group was met by officials of the Ministry of Defence's Arms Reduction Information and Control Centre. The Hungarian officials and the delegation have begun to implement the supervision tasks set down in the agreement.

Foreign Capital Investment Increases

LD0408204692 Budapest MTI in English 1423 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—Foreign working capital keeps flowing into Hungary at a rapid pace, with about 100 million dollars worth of cash invested here each month, Frigyes Harshegyi, vice-president of the National Bank of Hungary [NBH], told MTI on Tuesday [4 August].

In the first five months of 1992, foreign investment made up 600 million dollars which, according to preliminary figures, grew to exceed 700 million dollars by late June, Harshegyi said.

The influx of foreign working capital gained momentum in the past one and a half years. In 1988 direct foreign capital investment amounted to 23 million dollars, in 1989 to 215 million dollars, and in 1990 to 569 million dollars. The first peak was reached in 1991 when direct foreign capital investment, together with the cash invested previously, rose to 2.1 billion dollars. In the past four and a half years, 3 billion dollars have been invested in Hungary, the NBH vice-president said.

The NBH registers the cash foreign investors put into founding or buying a company in Hungary, including investment in kind.

The rapid increase in capital inflow is all the more important for Hungary since it considerably facilitates the external financing of its economy. For the time being, the foreign capital invested here a month comes close to the monthly interest payable on foreign loans, which is approximately 90-100 million dollars. The principal to be repaid per month amounts to 200 million dollars.

Rules on Forint Convertibility, Accounts Relaxed

LD0508092892 Budapest MTI in English 0703 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 5 (MTI)—As of July, foreigners can open forint bank accounts in Hungary and commercial banks are no longer obliged to sell their foreign currency to the central bank, while Hungarians can now withdraw $350 annuallly for trips abroad.

These measures are a further step towards full convertibility for the forint, expected in one or two years. The latest liberalization was partly in response to improving economic figures.

Hungary's foreign currency reserves now exceed $5 billion, covering six months, imports, while the foreign trade balance showed a surplus and the balance of payments was $600 million in the black in the first half.

Hungary opened up almost completely to imports in 1991 and Hungarian companies and private ventures are entitled to buy an unlimited amount of foreign currency. Since last December, the National Bank of Hungary has listed exchange rates daily, set on the basis of the reshuffled currency basket, comprising the U.S. dollar and the ECU [European currency unit] with each representing 50 per cent of the basket.

As of July, foreigners can place income from sales in Hungary into forint accounts and can use forints to buy Hungarian goods and services. The balance in the forint account, however, cannot be exchanged for foreign currency.

The legal conditions for an inter-bank currency market have been created with the latest relaxation of currency regulations, which lifted the ban on use of an exchange rate different to the official one.

Commercial banks now can have foreign currency debts or claims equalling up to 30 per cent of their capital, subject to changes in exchange rates.

In 1989, the previous government strongly limited Hungarians' purchases of foreign currency. This was put down to bad economic conditions, with the current account showing a deficit of almost $1.5 billion and that year's tourists' figures, which previously had a surplus, showing a deficit of $350 million.

From that time until July, Hungarians could withdraw only $50 worth of hard currency a year. Those who wanted to travel abroad could only buy more hard currency on the black market. However, since then, as a result of a restrictive monetary policy and an expanding currency supply, the black market and official rates have been almost equal for a year.

Wheat Harvest Ending, Average Yield Reported

LD0508105292 Budapest MTI in English 1652 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—Wheat harvesting is to be completed this weekend in Hungary. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, this year's wheat yields are average, with a 4-4.1 ton per hectare average, 20 per cent less than the average of the past three years.

The reasons for the lower yields are the drought, and the "austere" use of artificial fertilizers, due to a shortage of funds.

The average yield will more than cover domestic wheat demands for 1992, which is 1.6 million tons. Exports, and use as fodder, will also be possible.

Yields in Baranya County, the country's most southern farming area, were better than expected. Wheat is to give the fourth best yield in the agricultural history of the county, with a 5.1 ton per hectare average. This is mostly due to rain in May and June.

The Commonwealth of Independent States and Croatia will buy wheat from Hungary.

Cardinal Glemp Begins Visit to Russia

LD0408211192 Warsaw PAP in English 1451 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, August 4—Polish primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp arrived in Moscow on Tuesday [4 August] at the start of a 6-day visit to Russia and Kazakhstan. His first engagement, on Tuesday evening, will be a meeting with members of the Moscow discussion group "Spiritual Dialogue."

Before his departure from Warsaw, Cardinal Glemp said that his planned meetings with Poles in the former Soviet Union should be seen as "a sign of normality, showing that I am able to meet with my compatriots, not only in New York or Paris, but also in Moscow and Kazakhstan."

On the controversy surrounding the activities of Polish priests in Byelarus, Cardinal Glemp suggested that the disputes might have arisen from "local antagonisms, perhaps matters of temperament or character on the part of some of the priests." He added that the dispute should not be allowed to cloud the good work of Polish priests in Byelarus, who are ministering, not only to Poles, but to all Catholics in the republic.

Cardinal Glemp also drew attention to the work of Poland's committee for assistance to Catholics in the East, which in the 3 years since its foundation had done much to help Catholics in the former Soviet Union in the practice of their faith.

Kinkel Meets German Minority Members During Visit

AU0408163492 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Aug 92 p 4

["C.G." report: "In an Atmosphere of Cautious Cordiality"]

[Text] Bonn, 31 July—Foreign Minister Kinkel has promised representatives of the German minority in Poland that he will pursue further improvement of the situation of the some 500,000 Germans in Upper Silesia. In Warsaw Kinkel met with the seven German Sejm deputies. During another meeting after an official dinner during his visit to Warsaw, he acquainted himself with their concerns. During his talks with Prime Minister Suchocka, Kinkel got the impression that an approach to agreements can be found for technical considerations since the law professor is an expert on minority rights. Foreign Minister Skubiszewski is open-minded for political reasons "because Poland wants good relations with Germany." Kinkel asked the Polish Government to give the German minority an opportunity to develop. The minority representatives asked Kinkel for help on eight points. These include the desire for support in education or sending German teachers.

The Polish Government has shown displeasure about the rising number of requests for determination of citizenship that members of the German minority in Poland use to have dual citizenship confirmed. Kinkel pointed out to Skubiszewsi that Poland should understand this. Germany recognizes the right to such requests. The minority representatives complained to Kinkel that the applications are processed too slowly in the Federal Administration Office in Cologne. Kinkel, on the other hand, said that some ideas of the minority representatives in connection with the citizenship issue are unrealistic. This referred to compulsory military service. It is not possible to adopt dual citizenship in order to avoid unpleasant things—such as military service—in both countries.

Kinkel discussed visits to Koenigsberg [Kaliningrad] with Skubiszewski. He announced that he hopes that such trips by German visitors will be made easier through Polish-Russian agreements in the future. Skubiszewski added that in May Poland concluded some treaties with Russia on border traffic that have not taken effect yet. Poland wants the agreements to be implemented as quickly as possible. Alleviations then apply not only to Polish and Russian citizens but also to Germans and citizens of other states, and also to trips to the Baltic states.

Skubiszewski contradicted the view that had been expressed previously by Deputy Prime Minister Goryszewski, that Poland should not let itself be pushed into an "EC of the German nation" as Germany has too much weight in the EC. Skubiszeski said that he sees Poland's future in Europe. Germany, like France, is a "powerful country in Europe." Poland needs help. There are common Polish-German interests. Poland is pursuing its foreign policy that is aimed at Europe, at three levels. The strategic goal is to join the EC through German sponsorship. A "west-east axis" should form through cooperation between France, Germany, and Poland. As the third level, Skubiszewski cited "structures of military cooperation," coming closer to NATO and the Western European Union (WEU) and participating in the CSCE.

President Walesa called for "courageous decisions in European issues." Economic growth is indispensable for making the democratization of Russia, the other CIS states, and Eastern Europe irreversible. Elements of a state based on the rule of law must be established and secured. Walesa impressed Kinkel when he described the feelings in the east when observing how western Germany is helping its little brother, eastern Germany, in a comparably perfect way. Something like this seems fantastic and quite remote to the rest of the east.

Kinkel's frank way of speaking was obviously complemented by the lack of protocol observed by new Prime Minister Suchocka and other Polish Government members. The talks were almost cordial. "We cannot push away or ignore the past, but we should concentrate on the future, because this is a decisive factor," Kinkel said. He has the impression that this is also the case now in Poland. Skubiszewski answered in German: "Peoples and communities should think of the past, but the past

should not be the only determining factor for today and tomorrow. Germany has adopted a new role." Before visiting Cracow, Kinkel visited the former concentration camp in Auschwitz on 30 July. This was his wish, because as justice minister he had to deal with coming to terms with injustice, and had not yet visited Auschwitz. He wrote into the visitors' book: "The burden of the terror of Auschwitz is heavy. Words fail to express it. Remembering past injustice together remains necessary for real reconciliation."

Minister Discusses Trade With CIS, Arms Exports

AU0408123992 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 Jul-2 Aug 92 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Arendarski, minister of foreign economic cooperation, by Katarzyna Dolinska and Pawel Domarecki; place and date not given: "The Ministry Is Opening Its Doors"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [SZTANDAR MLODYCH] You would like to expand economic cooperation with the former USSR republics. What more can be done?

[Arendarski] That is my pet project. I am sure I will succeed in increasing the ministry's efforts to set up an incentive system for trade with the East. If there were an institution that would provide financial guarantees and credits according to normal world conditions, and if there also were a good system of information, we would be ahead of all the competition regarding our cooperation with the CIS. I know from experience that there are many Polish entrepreneurs who are doing good business in the former USSR republics, despite the many restrictions still in existence there. [passage omitted]

[SZTANDAR MLODYCH] What is the present situation with Polish arms exports?

[Arendarski] Weapons are a commodity like any other. The Foreign Ministry, in connection with other countries, is drawing up a list of countries in which there are conflicts or which pursue politics directed against their own people. It is not profitable to send weapons to such countries because it would cause negative international reactions, apart from which it would be immoral. However, we have partners with whom we conduct normal trade. We know what the situation with the Polish weapons industry is, and I will support arms exports like any other exports. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Outlines Government Priorities

LD0508084692 Warsaw PAP in English 1738 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, August 4—Poland's Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on Tuesday [4 August] repeated her pledge to accelerate privatisation, create stable conditions for the development of Polish agriculture and for a just and secure society, improve social security, and strengthen the public finances.

At a meeting of the Polish cabinet, Ms. Suchocka recalled that on her appointment on July 10, she had promised to present a programme to implement moves in these priority areas within 3 months. She also promised action to combat organised economic crime by Poles and nationals of other countries.

"We will not change the country in 3 months, but we can say what has to be done, so that the personal wishes and ambitions of everyone can be written into the programme for Poland's development," she said.

Cabinet ministers with responsibilities in the key areas must prepare by September 30 proposals for the realisation of the government programme, including full costings, necessary legal and organisational changes, and timetables.

Other aspects of the government programme, including measures to combat unemployment, support for small businesses, reforms of local government, and investment in education and housing, will be continuously tackled, and the government will present a report on progress by September 30.

Walesa Meets With Labor, Defense Ministers

LD0508131692 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] At Belweder Palace today, President Lech Walesa today received Jacek Kuron, minister of labor and social policy, and Janusz Onyszkiewicz, minister of national defense. We asked presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski to give us the details of both meetings:

[Drzycimski] The president received Jacek Kuron, who explained the difficult situation in many enterprises in the country. The solutions so far are not very satisfactory, the president said. This could lead to all sorts of social tensions. The president encouraged searching intensively for solutions in all these areas. He pointed out the need to work out a strategic, longer plan of transformation for the entire Polish economy because a single solution to a problem in every enterprise will not solve anything. It is only biding time to wait for decisions to be made.

In this context, the president considers it particularly urgent to solve the complicated problem in Mielec. He encouraged Minister Kuron to pursue activity, and expects that he will be receiving up-to-date information on the decisions that will lead to an answer. The president also thinks that the talks could be speeded up to reach a final decisions. He remarked that he wants to personally participate in the talks.

Mr. President also spoke to Janusz Onyszkiewicz, and General Tadeusz Wilecki, the new chief of staff, about Mielec today. Defense industry reconstruction is necessary, but it cannot cause the sudden collapse of all

structures and the economic basis of the towns tied to this industry. The conversation was about Mielec, particularly about the transportation equipment factory that awaits solutions necessary for the future existence of the army.

Walesa Ready To Join Talks With Striking Miners

LD0308174692 Warsaw PAP in English 1534 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 3—President Lech Walesa reiterated his readiness to join talks aimed to solve problems of the copper basin in Legnica (western Poland) on condition that workers stop their fortnight-old strike in the copper combine.

Meanwhile, Silesian collieries and mining works enterprises initiated a collection of money for the striking workers of the "Polska Miedz" copper combine.

In another development, a regular two-week summer holiday break meant for repairs and machinery check-ups started on Monday [3 August] at all departments of the FSM S.A. small car producer at Tychy (Katowice Province, southern Poland.) but no overhauls can be carried out as the factory workforce has been on strike since July 22.

Following negotiations held between the Industry Ministry and delegations of strikers from the rolling bearings works in Krasnik (south-east Poland), by the end of September the ministry will pay off the whole 125 billion zlotys (9,250,000 dollars) worth investment credit of the factory which was to be used for armaments production.

The management of the WSK Mielec transport equipment factory in south-east Poland threatened to fire over 4,500 workers if the factory fails to get new orders for its products. Workers, on strike for three weeks already, urged Labour Minister Jacek Kuron to finalize negotiations with government started earlier in view of the desperate situation in the Mielec factory and the entire region. The talks were first scheduled for August 10.

Waiting for Strike To End

LD0508085392 Warsaw PAP in English 1618 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 4—President Lech Walesa has not authorized anybody to conduct negotiations with the striking workers of the copper basin in Legnica, south-west Poland, presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said on Tuesday [4 August].

According to Drzycimski, the president clearly defined his stand while talking to the striking committee and addressing a letter to the strikers recently. The president will do everything in his power to solve the conflict provided that the strike ends and work is resumed in the combine, the spokesman recalled.

Copper Strike Committee Wants To Continue Protest

LD0508093492 Warsaw PAP in English 0821 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] Legnica, Aug. 5—The inter-factory and inter-union strike committee at the "Polska Miedz" copper combine in Legnica, southern Poland, declared itself in favour of continuation of the protest action at the plant, the spokesman for the committee said Wednesday [5 August].

Unsatisfied with the results of Tuesday's meeting between the management of the "Polska Miedz" company and Privatisation Minister Janusz Lewandowski, the strike committee issued a communique warning the combine's board and owner "to stop diregarding the strikers."

Wednesday is the 17th day of strike at the copper combine.

Democratic Party Critical of Small Constitution

LD0508085192 Warsaw PAP in English 1604 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 4—The leader of the Democratic Party (SD) declared on Tuesday [4 August] that his party critically evaluated the Small Constitution adopted by the Sejm (lower house) last week.

According to SD, it is the Sejm that should represent the highest state authority. The Democratic Party also disapproves of the fact that the new law underestimates the role of local self-governments, Rafal Szymanski said.

According to the SD leader, the draft constitutional law should be subject of a national referendum that would precisely define the role of the Sejm and Senate, and the powers of the president.

Szymanski said that he had seen the secret files of SD deputy to the Sejm Jan Switka and "found nothing in them to blame our deputy for." Switka was on the list of alleged communist secrete service agents that former Internal Minister Antoni Macierewicz compiled for the parliament.

Minister Presents, Analyzes Economic Data

AU0308122092 Warsaw PAP in English 1520 GMT 29 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, 29 July 29—This year's gross domestic product will be 2 percent lower than last year, the number of jobless will grow to 2.9 million and inflation will not surpass the 45-percent mark, the Central Planning Office (CUP) announced on Wednesday [29 July]. The prognosis was presented by CUP head, Minister Jerzy Kropiwnicki, who based it on the economic results of the first half of 1992.

CUP predicts that recession should be halted in the industrial production in 1992 and even slightly surpass the 1991 level. Also a 2 percent growth is expected in housing. An average wage in the main sectors of national economy will be about 3 million zlotys (214 dollars), a 39 percent increase in nominal terms and a 4-percent drop in real terms.

The 1992 exports revenues are estimated at 14 billion dollars, an increase of 9.7 percent over last year's figures, while payments for imports are to drop by 5.6 percent to 12 billion dollars. As a result, foreign trade surplus will grow to 2 billion dollars. Agricultural production is expected to drop by some 11 percent, including that of plant production by some 17 percent and animal production by 6 percent.

Kropiwnicki warned, however, that all the above figures are envisaged in the optimistic variant of the economic forecast and depend on the continuation of positive trends that have emerged especially in the second quarter of 1992.

Among favourable symptoms noted lately, head of the Main Statistical Office (GUS) Jozef Olenski mentioned the upward trend in the industrial production, which after the first six months of the present year was 3 percent below last year's figure (the drop after the first quarter was 8.7 percent). Productivity increased by 7.1 percent over the first half of the year.

Situation in foreign trade turnover is relatively favourable. By the end of last June exports revenues amounted to 6.9 billion dollars, 12.5 percent more than in 1991, and import expenditures fell by 8 percent to 5.9 billion dollars.

The development of the private business sector (outside agriculture) is a positive phenomenon. It offers jobs to 41 percent of Poland's work force and turns out some 27 percent of industrial production and 75 percent in building.

Release of Secret Lists Under Investigation

LD0508082692 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Aug 92

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] The law was broken and state secrets violated when the secret lists of agents were sent to the Sejm. That is the latest conclusion of the investigation being conducted on this issue. Prosecutor Janusz Regulski told "Panorama" that the handing over of the lists with the names of Security Office and Security Service agents by Interior Ministry employees to the Sejm was carried out in a criminal manner.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] The investigation was conducted by the Warsaw Prosecutor's Office. At the beginning of July the head of the Presidential Chancellery informed the Ministry of Justice Prosecutor's Department that there was serious reason to suspect that in the course of the vetting resolution's implemention state secrets had been violated. During the investigation it was established that the procedure for handing Interior Ministry documents to individual deputies was not in accordance with the regulations.

[Regulski] A person receiving information constituting a state secret has to be instructed as to the manner of how they are to proceed with these documents; this includes whether, for example, he is allowed to show his wife or friends [word indistinct] it or not.

[Reporter] The files were not entered, as the procedure requires, in secret registries. They also did not have any special numbers or titles. As it soon became clear, access to the files was not difficult. The Prosecutor's Office wants to establish whether the infringement of Article 260 of the Penal Code on state secrets was the intended action of the then Interior Ministry or not.

[Regulski] We do not concern ourselves with such matters as political provocation or political manipulation. We deal with offenses.

[Reporter] Prosecutor Regulski said that when a deputy revealed the information in the files he committed a crime. [passage omitted] I know that documents from the Interior Ministry were handed over not only to the Sejm Chancellery but also to Belweder Palace. Are you also investigating leaks at the Belweder?

[Regulski] We are not investigating leaks at the Belweder because it was in the Sejm that the basic documents were transmitted.

[Reporter] Possibly suspect people in this matter are high-ranking state officials. The prosecutor did not rule out the necessity of the participation of the State Tribunal that would resolve the question of responsibility. Janusz Regulski, however, declined to give any names. [end recording]

Farmers Seek Cooperation Over Agriculture Problems

LD0508111592 Warsaw PAP in English 1916 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 4—The Private Farmers Solidarity Trade Union on Tuesday [4 August] said that the problems arising from Poland's drought cannot be resolved by the Agriculture Ministry alone.

Roman Wierzbicki, head of Private Farmers Solidarity, told reporters following a conference at the Agriculture Ministry that a full evaluation of the effects of the drought on Polish agricultural production could only be made after completion of the harvest.

However, Wierzbicki called for urgent measures to assist farmers in regions hardest hit by drought. This should include a suspension of debt and interest payments on

agricultural loans taken out to cover this year's production, and government assistance in regions where the harvest is too poor to cover farmers' costs.

For the government, Deputy Agriculture Minister Janusz Bylinski said that the effects of the drought varied according to region. He added that the Agriculture Ministry had applied to the government for a reallocation of part of the agricultural restructuring funds to allow farmers to purchase grain for 1993. He added that any proposals for relief from local land taxes would depend on individual local government bodies.

In a related move, the "Self-Defence" Farmers Trade Union on Tuesday voiced its general approval of the proposal to set up local committees to deal with debt relief for Polish farmers. The committees should start to function before the end of August, on the initiative of the Agriculture Ministry, as part of moves to assist the operations of the fund for agricultural restructuring and debt relief.

On behalf of "Self-Defence," Pawel Skorski expressed his unease that the members of the Council of the Fund for Agricultural Restructuring and Debt Relief had not yet received their formal nominations. This would only delay the council's work, he said.

Early Sales of New Bonds Appear Normal

LD0508110592 Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, August 4—Early sales of the Polish Treasury's new 3-year savings bonds were described on Tuesday [4 August] as "normal and smooth" by Magdalena Jagiello of the Finance Ministry's Department of Financial Policy. However, initial reports suggest that demand for the new 3-year bonds is less strong than for the 1-year index-linked bonds which were first issued in June. Bank Pekao SA, the main selling agent, announced that it expected demand for the new issue to improve in September, following the end of the holiday period.

The Polish Government is seeking to raise 2 trillion zlotys (148 million dollars) in this first series of the new bonds, which went on sale to the general public on Monday. Bonds with a nominal value of 430 billion zlotys have already been sold by auction.

The new bonds can also be bought through the Warsaw Stock Exchange. However, none of the 1-year bonds were traded during Tuesday's session, despite an offer to sell 100 bonds at 96.9 percent of face value.

Increasing Use of Bombs by Criminals Reported

LD0508150292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0430 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZWY daily reports that a bomb is a method of dealing with competition. The police have received 801 calls about planted explosives since the beginning of this year; 29 alarms were true. The planting of bombs, according to the police, is more often becoming a way of settling accounts in the criminal world. The bombs are being planted most often in private houses and in cars. The reason is revenge, mafia deals, or getting rid of the competition.

There have also been occurrences of grenades being thrown at shops. A grenade was thrown into a shop on Domaniecka Street in Warsaw no less than a week ago. The bedroom windows of a private house were fired upon with a machinegun. A grenade that destroyed two Mercedes cars was thrown at the premises. A bomb is a method of dealing with competition.

Karadzic Alleges Weapons Hidden in Aid Aircraft

LD040[illegible]54492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1433 GMT 4 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] London, August 4 (TANJUG)—Leader of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs Radovan Karadzic said on Tuesday [4 August] "arms and ammunition, mostly made in Turkey, are being parachuted to the Muslim forces" from planes carrying humanitarian aid to Sarajevo, the capital of the war-stricken former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Karadzic told the British Sky television station the children evacuated from Bosnia-Hercegovina were sold to German and Austrian families.

Asked how it was possible that no one of foreign observers confirmed his allegations, Karadzic said most reporters and observers were not fully informed about the situation as they followed the developments from the Muslim side of the battlefront.

Several British reporters are now among Bosnian Serbs in order to establish facts about the alleged existence of concentration camps for Muslims and Croats, Karadzic said. They have already inspected ten locations but found no detention camps, he added.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, the local Muslim-Croat coalition, supported by the Army of neighbouring Croatia, have been fighting against local Serbs for four months. The fighting escalated after the E.C. decided to recognize the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at the request of the Muslim-Croat coalition and without the consent of Serbs who account for one-third of the republic's population.

Serbs Reject Allegations About Concentration Camps

AU0408150692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Aleksandar Buha, foreign relations minister of the Serbia Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Information Minister Velibor Ostojic held a news conference today at the International Press Center in Belgrade regarding a recent attack in Sarajevo in which two children were killed. They denied Serbian involvement in this attack, stressing that the territory on which the attack took place is controlled by the Muslims. Vladimir Nikolic reports:

[Begin recording] Accusing the Serbian side for the latest attack, in which two children were killed, is part of the propaganda war, which is worse than a religious war, Buha stressed. He invited journalists and the international community to visit prisons where Muslims are being held to see how they are treated. At the same time, Buha stressed, we demand that journalists visit the camps where Serbs are held by the Muslim and Croat sides.

Ostojic commented on concentration camps in which some 6,000 Serbs were killed. The Serbian side has the information that in Sarajevo alone there are 22 concentration camps with some 40,000 Serb civilians. Ostojic also spoke about two methods of ethnic cleansing of Serbs. The first is the destruction of Serbian villages and the expulsion of the population. In this way, some 320,000 Serbs were expelled from central Bosnia. The other way is what is happening in rural areas, where Serbs are held hostage. The purpose of this is to show the world that Serbs want to live under Alija Izetbegovic and that the system run by the Muslim authorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina is functioning.

On the same subject, Buha said that Serbs in urban areas are ethnic hostages. He explained this with the fact that every attempt to carry out an exchange and thereby remove the imperiled Serb population from the Muslim side has gone unanswered by the other side. The Serbian people in the hands of the Muslims represent ethnic hostages, Buha stressed, recalling Izetbegovic's words that the secret duty is to look after your neighbors, explaining that the words look after in this context are placed within quotation marks.

At the news conference, all Serbian humanitarian organizations from Bosnia-Hercegovina invited the international community to come to Sarajevo and see what is true about the murder of the children. The same invitation was also sent by the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The invitation also contains the statements by the witnesses of the tragic event, the driver of the bus and the nurse. [end recording]

Security Council Concerned Over Reports on Camps

LD0508064492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0238 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] United Nations, August 5 (TANJUG)—The United Nations Security Council on Tuesday [4 August] evening voiced "deep concern over repeated reports" about arrests and mistreatment of civilians in detention centres on the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

As learned, none of the participants in the Council session, called at the request of the United States, was able to give any solid evidence substantiating the allegations contained in Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic's letter to Security Council president, Chinese Ambassador Li Daoyu about the existence of several concentrations camps in which Moslems and Croats are being massacred.

A statement released from the session condemns violence and mistreatement of people, and demands that "international organizations, especially the Red Cross, be given immediate and unhindered access to any such place."

In a separate statement read by Li after the session, he condemned a recent attack on UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] positions in Sarajevo, in which one Ukrainian soldier was killed and one wounded.

As learned from well-informed sources in some Western delegations, the Council discussed a possibility of authorizing a military intervention in case of a further deterioration of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but failed to reach agreement on the matter.

Presidency Reports Presence of Concentration Camps

LD0508074992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and Government made public a list of concentration camps on territory temporarily occupied by the Serbian aggressor, Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina reported this morning. The information service of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency said that there is reliable information that such camps exist on the territory of Serbia and Montenegro as well. Intending to carry out the plan of ethnic cleansing, the Serbian aggressor has gathered non-Serbian civilian population in the camps. About 30,000 citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina are detained in 96 concentration camps, the radio reported.

In connection with rumors that such camps exist on the other side as well, the radio reports that the Presidency and the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina are affirming with full responsibility that there are no such camps on the territory under the control of legal authorities.

Armed Forces Chief Calls For 'Final Liberation'

AU0408192092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] After one of the fiercest aggressor attacks on Sarajevo last night, Sefer Halilovic, chief of the Armed Forces Supreme Command Staff of Bosnia-Hercegovina, issued the following statement:

Our town has been exposed for quite a while to the most horrific destruction, of which it is difficult to find another example in the history of war. Last night was particularly difficult and tragic for many citizens. The chetnik-fascist beasts used the most powerful and destructive combat measures. In the early morning hours, they attempted to take Hrasnica, Sokolovic Kolonija, Otes, Dobrinja, Mojmilo, and Alipasino Polje with infantry forces supported by tanks and artillery.

The brave soldiers of our young Army successfully repelled the attack and created conditions for a counterattack and the final liberation of Sarajevo from the four-month blockade.

We are calling on all armed citizens and armed groups who are not engaged on the defense lines to join us and put themselves at the disposal of the regional headquarters of the Armed Forces and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, the headquarters of the First Sandzak, the First Dobrinja, the First Independent (?Stup) Brigade, the 11th Infantry, the 13th Novo Sarajevo, the 14th and 15th Novi Grad Brigade, the First Independent Battalion, the units of our Army in Otes, Sokolovic Kolonija, and Hrasnica, the special operation brigades, and special units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Units from the Zenica and Tuzla Corps have dispatched strong forces to the Sarajevo battlefield.

Dear citizens of Sarajevo, the most illustrious pages of our history are being written. Join us so that we can write them together with the best heroes of our beloved town and the youngest republic in the world. This is said in the Halilovic statement.

Water Supply 'Deteriorating' in Sarajevo

AU0408113292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] The water supply dispatcher service reports that the supply of water in Sarajevo is deteriorating. Besides the fact that pumping in the direction of Baceva-Alipasin Most has been interrupted and the Moscanica spring turned off for a longer period of time, the amount of water supplied to the town by pumping in the direction of Bacevo-Mojmilo also decreased considerably yesterday. All this combined reduced the amount of available water to less than 50 percent. The amount of water that accumulated during the night is lower than usual and does not guarantee the supply at the level of previous days. This applies in particular to the central part of the town, from Bascarsija to Bratstvo i Jedinstvo Street, where because of the inadequate inflow of water in the Hrasno water reservoir it was not possible to turn on a single pump toward the Skenderija water reservoir.

We will try to distribute the water that is available as equally as possible, subject to technical capabilities, of course, that is to say, the pumping capacities of the water supply system. However, we add here that priority in the supply of water will be given to vital consumers and hospitals, the water supply dispatcher service reports.

Even today, the most endangered parts of the town will receive supplies of water from water tankers, according to a schedule similar to the one of the previous days.

Serb Defense Minister Comments on Borders

AU0408153592 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 92 p 5

[M. Maric report: "Possible Border Changes"]

[Text] Banja Luka—At a news conference in Banja Luka Colonel Bogdan Subotic, defense minister of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, pointed out that the external borders of the Republic are not disputed, and that they will be established along the rivers Una, Sava,

Drina, and Neretva. However, Minister Subotic stated, there will be more discussions regarding the internal borders between Herceg-Bosnia and Muslim Bosnia-Hercegovina because not all issues can or should be resolved by means of weapons. We have practically established control over 80 percent of the territories with a predominantly Serbian population. However, some corrections could be made even in this respect during the border revision, he stated additionally.

There is no reason for the further existence of crisis headquarters or war presidencies in any commune of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, except for a few newly formed ones. This is particularly unnecessary in Banja Luka, Bijeljina and Prijedor, where the legally elected civilian authorities exist. The war presidency is also unnecessary in the Autonomous Region of Krajina; the government and the assembly, however, should be active there, Subotic said.

Subotic stated that, unfortunately, all armed formations in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are not under the sole command of the Serbian Republic Army. Even the order of President Radovan Karadzic that all groups and subgroups of the "private armies" be disarmed within three days, was not observed. But this will have to be done, Subotic added.

What is happening to us, Subotic asked, and answered: What is happening is that we have "private armies" and that these so-called soldiers are causing disorder in the cities, wasting ammunition, and endangering the lives of the peaceful citizens. We will not allow the unshaven, bearded, scruffy "heroes" in various uniforms to tarnish the moral image of the Serbian soldier. We do not need the street "heroes" who are ready day or night to fire an entire belt of cartridges or to defend the Serbian heritage in bars, because the Serbian Republic is not threatened in bars but on the front lines, Subotic said.

He pointed out that the Serbian Army has superior power both in military personnel and weapons in relation to the other two warring sides, so Serbs have no reason to fear the Tudjman-Izetbegovic pact.

I was personally present when our and Croatian soldiers were marking borders together in Ilijas and talking with each other without shooting. We will not have any difficulties in reaching agreements with the Croats, but Muslim fundamentalists do not have any choice either; if they do not agree, they will lose everything, concluded Colonel Bogdan Subotic, defense minister of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Muslim Presidency Reportedly in 'State of Chaos'

LD0408113592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1027 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 4 (TANJUG)—Mijo Kelava, former head of the press center of the Muslim-Croat Presidency of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, has crossed over to the Serb-held part of Sarajevo because he is displeased with the situation in the Presidency.

Kelava, a Croat by nationality, told reporters that the Presidency was in a real state of chaos, the Belgrade paper POLITIKA EKSPRES said on Tuesday [4 August].

There are several currents in the Presidency, which has no legally elected representatives of the Serb people.

Kelava said that they are the radical Muslim current of Vice President Ejup Ganic, the moderate Muslim faction of Fikret Avdic, the Croatian group headed by Stjepan Kljuic which is loyal to Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, and then there are Mirko Pejanovic and Nenad Kecmanovic, who are described as "private" Serbs on Izetbegovic's staff.

Pejanovic and Kecmanovic were coopted on to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency after legally elected representatives of Bosnian Serbs Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic walked out in protest against the Presidency's bid for independence and the subsequent recognition of this former Yugoslav republic without the agreement of Serbs. Serbs are one of the three constituent nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina and account for one-third of the Republic's population.

A civil war has been raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina for four months between Muslims and Croats, backed by regular forces of the neighbouring Republic of Croatia, on the one side, and the local Serbs, on the other.

Gangs of criminals headed by Senad Bajramovic and Juka Prazina have been fighting each other in the Muslim part of Sarajevo since Sunday, the daily said, quoting reliable sources, [words indistinct] agree on how to divide the loot. Prazina is presented by Muslim news media as a national hero.

POLITIKA EKSPRES said that it was increasingly certain that the civil and military authorities of Sarajevo were crumbling and that Izetbegovic's presidency and government have absolutely no control over or influence on the many groups of criminals who are terrorizing the city.

Federal

CSCE Fact-Finding Delegation Arrives

Meets With Panic, Jovanovic

LD0408204192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1439 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 4 (TANJUG)—A CSCE fact-finding mission, led by the Swedish ambassador in The Hague, was received on Tuesday [4 August] by Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Vladislav Jovanovic. On Monday the CSCE fact-finding mission had talks with Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Milan Panic.

The Yugoslav foreign minister informed CSCE mission members on the Yugoslav Government's efforts to achieve the goals of its peace policy as a priority task, as well as to fully implement human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the rights of national minorities.

After the meeting the CSCE fact-finding mission left for the southern Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija. In the province the CSCE mission members discussed the situation concerning human rights and national minority rights in the province with chief administrator of the Kosovo District Milos Simovic and provincial secretary of information Bosko Drobnjak.

A separatist ethnic Albanian movement has been active in Kosovo and Metohija for years. Ethnic Albanians represent a majority population in the Serbian province. Albanian national minority party leaders in Kosovo and Metohija have been investing a great deal of effort to present to the world public their attempts toward a secession of the province from the state of Serbia as a struggle for minority rights.

The Kosovo and Metohija information secretariat said that the CSCE fact-finding mission was fully informed about the situation in education, public health and social welfare, as well as the state bodies' intentions and policy concerning these fields.

After the talks with Simovic, the CSCE mission met with leader of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija Ibrahim Rugova and representatives of Albanian national minority political parties and associations.

Holds Talks With Justice Minister

LD0408114392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1129 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—Minister of Justice of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dr. Tibor Varadi, on Tuesday [4 August] met with a fact-finding mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) for Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandzak which is visiting Yugoslavia on the basis of a decision of the CSCE committee of high officials dated July 10, 1992.

The mission is tasked with drafting a list of proposals to be submitted to the committee on the role new CSCE missions could play in promoting the peace, preventing any outbreaks of violence and the respecting of humav rights and fundamental liberties in Kosovo, Vojvodina and [words indistinct].

The justice minister said that there were serious problems with human and minority rights in the new Yugoslavia but that his government believed that they could be solved. He also asked the CSCE's representatives to expound their idea on observer missions mentioning possible competences and the possibility of functioning.

Stressing that human rights were not an exclusively internal affair of any country, Varadi said any international assistance aimed at resolving problems that existed not only in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia but also in all former Yugoslav lands was welcome.

Noting that negotiations between the ethnic Albanians and the Serbian (Yugoslav) authorities were necessary and a pressing matter, Varadi said the ethnic Albanians' representatives were not entitled to make their participation conditional on the acceptance of their demand for an independent state, as this was in contravention of CSCE provisions on the inviolability of borders.

The minister said at the conclusion of the meeting that [words indistinct] the fact-finding mission' [words indistinct] would help create a better image of Yugoslavia in the world.

Visits Kosovo, Departs for Sandzak

AU0408153192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic from Pristina]

[Text] A six-member CSCE delegation, headed by Jan af Sillen, Swedish ambassador to the Netherlands, visited Pristina today. As the members of the mission said, their aim is to acquaint themselves with the state of human rights and the exercise of the rights of the ethnic minorities in Kosovo and Metohija. This was discussed in talks with Dr. Milos Simovic, head of the Kosovo District.

The official statement issued after this meeting says only that the guests were briefed on education, health, and welfare policies and that there was discussion of future actions by state authorities in these fields in Kosovo and Metohija.

The CSCE delegation also had talks with representatives of the Albanian parties in Kosovo and Metohija, who were led by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova.

At a brief news conference after the talks, Af Sillen stated that this delegation will recommend to the committee of CSCE senior officials measures on how to preserve peace, eliminate violence, and facilitate the exercise of human rights in Kosovo. The members of the CSCE mission were most interested in the opportunities for

establishing dialogue in Kosovo. We have learned that they hinted that their organization would be willing to offer to mediate in the talks.

After 1430, the CSCE mission departed for the Sandzak.

Butrus-Ghali To Replace Carrington at Talks

LD0408200492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1846 GMT 4 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] London, August 4 (TANJUG)—United Nations Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali will be one of the co-chairmen, in the place of Lord Carrington, at the international Conference on Yugoslavia to be held in London in late August, said official British sources on Tuesday [4 August].

It had initially been envisaged that the conference be jointly chaired by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and president of the Conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington.

Following a spat between Butrus-Ghali and Lord Carrington over the conducting of the peace action in the former Yugoslavia, British diplomacy seems to have decided to sacrifice Carrington in the interests of "peace at home."

Butrus-Ghali recently accused Carrington of by-passing the United Nations in actions, but promising its participation in their realization.

Butrus Butrus-Ghali told THE NEW YORK TIMES on Tuesday [4 August] that Great Britain was treating him as if these were colonial times and said that he had no intention of handing over the running of the United Nations to the Security Council's permanent members.

Hurd gave full support to Butrus-Ghali and his way of handling the Yugoslav crisis on Tuesday. This has been interpreted in London as a gesture of reconciliation and an attempt at smoothing over the quarrel with the UN.

Panic Reviews Initial Period in Office

LD0408223892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—After 20 days in my post as prime minister, my assessment of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is that the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims want peace, and that the real problem lies with the terrorists and criminals, Prime Minister Milan Panic said today at a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists.

Noting that Muslims, Croats, and Serbs are involved in terrorist and paramilitary activities, Panic cited as good news the fact that the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, has informed him that his forces have arrested the first 70 paramilitaries involved in the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This is the first specific step in the direction of halting the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Panic said, adding that this action also indicates the implementation of the London agreement.

It is clear to everyone that the problem is not Karadzic, Izetbegovic, and Boban, but the people who are out of control, who have gone on fighting even after the three national leaders signed the agreement, Panic said.

It was agreed in London that we should begin to eliminate terrorists on all three sides, but the problem is that there is no legal system for this, Panic said.

He voiced the expectation that the Muslims and Croats will also begin to arrest and prosecute the terrorists in their own areas, even before the conference on Yugoslavia begins.

He described as bad news the fact that Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, has called on the United Nations to lift the embargo on weapons just when he, Panic, is trying to disarm the warring sides.

This is madness. I will ask the United Nations to ban imports of arms to the Balkan peninsula forever. We do not want weapons in the Balkans, Panic said.

Izetbegovic's request is totally opposed to what I am trying to do. I will send him a message that this is not in the spirit of our talks on peace. We do not want any more weapons and I will take steps to stop this, Panic explicity stated.

The prime minister recalled his visit to the military base at Batajnica. It was talked of as a kind of concentration camp, he said, but I am now convinced that this is the kind of disinformation which is used in times of war.

Panic also informed journalists that he has received a letter from UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. He asks me to help with the question of arms in Croatia, to do everything in my power so that only the local police carry arms in Knin, and everyone else is disarmed and demobilized.

Everyone asks what I have achieved in 20 days. They say that I talk a lot and they ask what I have achieved. Not just that I talk a lot, I travel a lot. I have set priorities for our country: peace, democratization, and economic revival. I have decided to visit leaders of other countries and ask them to support my program and its main objective—peace—Panic said.

He added: "I have visited everyone I planned to see." There are two more countries and neighbors—Greece and Albania—Panic added.

My style has created a bit of problem for foreign leaders because, they say, you cannot just phone a foreign leader to say you want to meet him. This is what diplomats are

saying, and I am so glad I am not a diplomat because then I would need three years to do what I have done in just a few days, Panic said.

Noting that he has already visited 27 foreign leaders and a large number of ambassadors, he listed as concrete results his condemnation of ethnic cleansing, remarking that perpetrators have been already arrested in Hrtkovci and Srbislavci.

"I also announced that I reject any forceable changes to the borders, and that I accept Tito's borders for the time being, but the world should understand that this will hold only until the international community gets the opportunity to investigate the situation and, I hope, give all nations equally the right to self-determination," Panic said.

I am sure that, he added, that this will happen one day although it will take some time because diplomats are not so quick off the mark.

The Yugoslav prime minister recalled his stand on disarmament of all forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, that he provided help in manpower when Sarajevo airport was opened, that roads to Sarajevo are open for humanitarian aid, that financing of the Serbian Government in Bosnia-Hercegovina has stopped, that the last 92 soldiers of the Yugoslav Army have been withdrawn from Banja Luka, and that he has come out in favor of destroying heavy weaponry.

The most important, I believe, is that I have established a ministry for human and minority rights which not even the United States has, Panic said, noting: "I have sent the minister of education and justice to Kosovo to reopen schools."

Panic also recalled his meeting yesterday with the CSCE commission. I was somewhat upset by their visit, for personal reasons, he said, explaining that the majority of countries which send human rights commissions here are the same ones which supported Marshal Tito, the greatest violator of human rights, Panic added.

I, one who left this country because of human rights, have come here to lead it, and a commission for human rights shows up to tell me how. I think that is extreme hypocrisy and I told them so, he stressed.

"I told them that if they create unrest in Kosovo, I will consider them responsible for that. And if they begin to incite trouble, as they have in other countries, I will take them to court. The lives of the Albanians in Kosovo are more dear to me than any foreign commission because they are my people," Panic said.

The Yugoslav prime minister informed the journalists about the agreement on an exchange of prisoners between Croatia and Yugoslavia. It is important because it is a beginning, he explained, expressing the belief that relations with Croatia will be mended quickly. Panic added, however, that he will call for the removal of the checkerboard from the Croatian flag, "if they want us to recognize them." I revealed that condition in SPIEGEL. I don't like the checkerboard because it reminds me too much of fascism and the swastika, Panic said.

The Yugoslav prime minister indicated that he would visit Sarajevo in a few days so that talks could begin on what he described as a very important idea of Bosnia-Hercegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic of forming a team to eliminate snipers, which would be made up of Serbs, Croats, and Muslims.

Panic said that on the basis of assessments available to him, the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina has decreased by 15 percent. This is probably because of the open airport and roads, and if you look on the map, he added, you will see.

On account of the claims that Yugoslav forces are bombing Bosnia-Hercegovina, I have invited the United Nations to come and inspect our airports. I will make the same offer for the Yugoslav borders, because I do not intend to send Yugoslavs to Bosnia. In fact, I have agreed not to do that. That is what we have achieved in the first 20 days, Panic said, summing up his own initial results and those of the federal government.

Asked by journalists whether he would allow the United Nations to monitor Yugoslav borders, Panic said he would ask them to do that because, he said, they are accusing us of sending the army there, and we are not doing that. My government and I are prepared to do everything to remove the reasons which led to the sanctions, he added.

Asked about concentration camps, the Yugoslav prime minister said that he doesn't know whose they are and that he is interested in the removal of all such camps. Some of the camps are indeed camps for refugees, but they are not voluntarily refugees, so in a way they are detainees. I have no reliable information, however, and it is all hearsay; I don't know how many there are, nor where, Panic said, noting that the most important thing is to silence the weapons in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will deal with the camps later; when the war stops they will disappear automatically, he noted.

Asked about the arrested paramilitaries, Panic said that he did not know who they are, to which group they belong, but that this is not important. It is important that all sides begin to eliminate terrorists, the prime minister stressed.

Replying to a question about the conference on Yugoslavia, Panic said that he will try to do as much as possible before it begins, so that it is not simply theoretical, like most of the others. I am already helping when I say: We recognize all states, we accept borders. They all want to talk about borders, and I say that we will take Tito's borders and that's that. I think it is most important that we do not have many conditions, because we won't succeed if we set them. I am trying to set minimal conditions for peace; I usually say, although it is rather philosophical, that I don't have any conditions for peace.

Asked about Bush, Panic said that he supports the Democrats. The election campaign is under way and the Democrats are not doing badly. Bush is President and I have to cooperate with him, he added.

Of Yeltsin he said: "I don't think we could have a better ally and helper than Yeltsin." The Russians are for us, they keep giving me advice, they haven't withdrawn their ambassadors. They said that they will impose 100 vetoes to prevent Yugoslavia from being expelled from international organizations, Panic said.

Asked again about the camps, Panic recalled that he agreed with Izetbegovic that they should go together to Gorazde and begin a combined demilitarization. He did not specify when that could be, but he noted that it is not so easy to go to Bosnia.

Izetbegovic is president of a state which we have recognized, and I am desperately trying to make him leader of the Serbs and the Croats and the Muslims in Bosnia, because only then will he be its real president. Today he represents only the Muslims, Panic concluded.

Prime Minister on Alleged Concentration Camps

LD0408213492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1945 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic has urged international inspection to establish whether there are concentration camps in Yugoslavia, and has expressed a resolution to demolish them if they exist.

The call was made, it has been learned from official government circles, as a response to accusations that there are 94 Serbian, Muslim, and Croatian camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina and 11 in Serbia and Montenegro.

The Yugoslav Government and its prime minister are against concentration camps, and are urging their demolition if they are found on Yugoslav territory. They also promise to put on trial those responsible for any camps. Camps that are claimed to exist will be open to the International Red Cross and the United Nations for inspection, government circles are reporting, noting that one of the reported sites, Batajnica near Belgrade, was inspected by Prime Minister Panic.

Cosic Establishes New Coordination Council

AU0408202892 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] On the basis of Article 96 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, President Dobrica Cosic has decided to set up a council for coordination of views on state policy. In addition to the president of Yugoslavia, the council will include the following: Milan Panic [prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], Slobodan Milosevic [president of the Republic of Serbia], Momir Bulatovic [president of the Republic of Montenegro], Svetozar Stojanovic [adviser to President Dobrica Cosic], Vladislav Jovanovic [foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], Zivota Panic [chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army], Pavle Bulatovic [minister of internal affairs], Milo Djukanovic, [prime minister of Montenegro], and Radoman Bozovic [prime minister of Serbia].

In coordinating views on the state policy, the council, as stated, will be required to cooperate with the appropriate authorities of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro. The sessions of the council will be called and presided over by the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The decisions of the council will be carried out by the president of Yugoslavia, the head of the federal government, federal ministries, and other federal organs of administration within their spheres of competence. Decisions take into effect on the day they are adopted.

President Blames Croatians for Bosnian War

LD0408170292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1535 GMT 4 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, August 4 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic said in an interview to Australian television that Bosnia-Hercegovina was the scene of an inter-nationality, religious and civil war in which the aggressors were not Serbs but the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia.

Cosic underscored that a horrendous, genocidal war had developed in Bosnia-Hercegovina in which all sides were committing atrocities, and said that the condemnation of the United Nations Security Council in which the Serbian side is being proclaimed as the sole guilty party is one-sided and unjust.

Cosic told Australian TV that Europe and the United States had "ruined Bosnia-Hercegovina with their early recognition."

The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been going on for the past four months with the local Serbs fighting against the Moslems and the Croats. The war agony started on April 7 when the European Community (E.C.) recognized Bosnia-Hercegovina at the request of the Moslem-Croatian coalition against the wishes of the Serbs, one of three constituent nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The UN Security Council proclaimed the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia guilty for the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and punished Yugoslavia with the introduction of stiff sanctions, overlooking the fact that the regular Croatian Army in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been receiving a great amount of aid since the start of the war.

Asked how the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina could be resolved, President Cosic said that he and the Yugoslav Government had proposed to the UN Security Council that a ceasefire should be concluded through the offices

of all the factors capable of influencing Croatia and the Moslem side, and all of those who can influence the Serbian side.

Cosic believes that once this has been achieved, negotiations on cantonization along ethnic lines should begin between Moslems, Croats and Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, conducted under international control and with the participation of the UN Security Council, Carrington's committee, the E.C. and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Bosnia-Hercegovina would be constituted as a community of three ethnic cantons.

In an interview to the Japanese daily YOMIURI SHIMBUN, President Cosic underscored that the Yugoslav Government and he were doing their best in order to fulfil the demands set by the UN Security Council, even "though we do not consider these sanctions just and I do not believe that they have been based on an accurate assessment of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina".

We have thwarted and will continue to thwart any kind of military aid to the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina army, said Cosic and reiterated that Yugoslavia did not have any territorial claims towards any of its former republics.

Cosic, however, expressed hope that the international conference on Yugoslavia would resolve some of the border questions and that it would observe the right of the people to self-determination, and that this right which is held by all the other Yugoslav peoples, would be recognized to the Serbs too.

Cosic announced early, free and democratic elections. He also said that a round table with the opposition would be held in a few days' time with the aim of formulating a law on political parties, elections and the democratic rules of election campaigning.

Effects of UN Sanctions Becoming Apparent

LD0508114292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1022 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 5 (TANJUG)—The full effect of the blockade which the United Nations imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is only now becoming apparent, Toma Milisavljevic from the Belgrade Market Reasearch Institutes said on Wednesday [5 August]. The UN Security Council imposed tough economic sanctions against Yugoslavia on May 30.

A survey of 200 firms in the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro conducted from mid-June to mid-July showed that the market was "good" for only five per cent of the polled, and that it was "bad" for a hefty 55 percent.

In the period under observation, said Milisavljevic, 85 percent of the firms recorded a sharp drop in orders from abroad. Only one per cent said they had received more orders, he added. The biggest drop was registered in the engineering and consumer industries (92 and 86 percent respectively), twice the figure for the previous one-month period.

From mid-May to mid-June, 41 percent of the producers did not have sufficient demand to maintain normal production. A month later, the percentage was 68, said Milisavljevic.

The surveyed firms said that the relief provided by a slowing of inflation in July (when retail prices increased by 62 per cent as against 100 percent in June) was only temporary.

Milisavljevic said 69 per cent of the polled said they planned to increase prices. In the previous poll, the percentage stood at 94.

On the strength of the survey, economic analysts predict that prices in the next three months should be rising at a slower pace than in June, i.e. at an average of 40 per cent a month.

However, said Milisavljevic, inflation can hardly be checked when we are under blockade, when production and exports have dropped and when competition is almost nonexistent.

Government Warns of Shortage of Medicine

LD0408121392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0848 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The Federal Ministry of Labor, Health, and Social Policy considers that health care has reached a critical point because of the UN sanctions, the weakness of the economy, and obstacles in the production and transport of medications, a statement by the Ministry of Information says.

The statement says that the federal government agrees with that assessment and warns that, unless adequate measures are taken, this might have disastrous consequences such as patients dying because of the shortage of adequate medical treatment. [passage omitted]

Accused General Sends Letter Prior to Hearing

92BA1236B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 92 p 8

[Unattributed article: "Letter From the Accused"—first paragraph is NIN introduction]

[Text] General Aleksandar Vasiljevic, former chief of the Yugoslav Army's Security Administration, has been summoned before an investigating judge. Before leaving, on 15 July, he wrote to Svetislav Spasojevic, a NIN reporter, who listened to his confession for weeks and published it under the title "All the Secrets of the KOS [military counterintelligence service]."

Retired Major General Aleksandar Vasiljevic sensed what has in fact happened; General Vasiljevic has been indicted! On Tuesday, 14 July, he was delivered a

summons to come to the Military Court in Belgrade on Wednesday, 15 July, at 0830, for a hearing. He left, and he did not return until 1200....

The former chief of the Yugoslav Army's Counterintelligence Service, whose confession NIN has been publishing in a feature article for six weeks now, is being charged with crimes under "Article 125 of the SFRY Criminal Code, in connection with Article 121 and Article 179 of the Criminal Code." Article 125 says, "Whoever, out of hostile motives toward the SFRY, causes an explosion or fire or undertakes another generally dangerous action or an act of violence through which a feeling of personal insecurity can be created on the part of a citizen or group of citizens, will be punished by imprisonment for at least five years." Article 121 sanctions the undermining of military and defensive strength: "Whoever destroys, renders unusable, or allows to pass into the hands of the enemy defensive installations, defensive sites, positions, armament, or other military and defensive means, or surrenders troops to the enemy, or in another manner hinders or jeopardizes military and defensive measures, will be punished by imprisonment for at least three years. A citizen of the SFRY who commits an act in paragraph 1 of this article with the intention of helping the enemy will be punished by imprisonment for at least five years." Finally, Article 179 talks about accepting bribes: "An official person who demands or accepts a gift or any other benefit or who accepts the promise of a gift or any other benefit to perform an official act, within the framework of his official authority, that he should not perform; or to fail to perform an official act that he ought to perform, will be punished by imprisonment for one to ten years."

Thus, terrorism, undermining military strength, and bribery!

Aleksandar Vasiljevic, however, said in NIN's editorial office: "In order for certain people to stay in the positions where they are, they need a victim. They need someone on whom to heap the blame for all the failures and blunders of which they are guilty." The future will show whether his role is one of a victim, or some other different role that he chose himself.

Just before leaving for the hearing, Mr. Vasiljevic sent a touching letter to his interviewer, the author of NIN's feature article "All the KOS's Secrets," Svetislav Spasojevic, which we are publishing in its entirety:

Belgrade, 15 July 1992

Sveto,

Unfortunately, I was not able to write you anything more complete than what is expected at such a moment.

I feel an enormous emptiness in my soul. I am not surprised and caught unawares by the Military Court's summoning me like a defendant, because everything that is happening is the natural consequence of the things that we talked about. In other words, one of the expected moves in the big game of the big players, a piece with which one tries to enter the endgame. As I have already pointed out, in order for this game to be played out and provide the result that is desired, the judges have been changed, who will adapt the rules of the game for those who appointed them.

For a long time now, I have had an opportunity to hide so that I would not be used in this kind of game. I did not do so, not because of a hope that something would change in this game, but rather because of my character and nature. I have never hidden, even when my head could have been the stake in various games.

Although I as a piece do not have any chance at all of opening the eyes of the audience that will watch this game—because the players and the judges will remain in the shadows—I am not losing hope that the whole game will nevertheless be analyzed. It is of little benefit to me as a person who has already been trampled and besmirched, but if I were not important in all of this, all this would not be happening.

I have a heavy feeling, heavier than those who were in camps throughout Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia. Some of them encouraged me yesterday to endure just as they endured. It was easier for them, however—they could be defiant and endure anything from anyone because they were arrested by Ustase, National Guard Corps members, or other "territorial forces." They still knew that somewhere far away they had their own state and their own army, which would never abandon them. Objectively I do not have all that now, and it is all happening to me and the rest of my comrades in our own state, and with the same people who are in the same positions or even higher ones.

This is my handicap, of which I am aware. I believe, however, that honest people, even if not adept in politics, will nevertheless see through everything and see that the dirty game will be prevented. I hope that you as a man believe me and that if no one else, those honorable officers and people for whom I went to Zagreb twice will not abandon and forget me. They endured in prisons, believing that they would never be forgotten and abandoned. I now believe only in their conscience and decency, and I hope that they will not abandon and forget me and my family.

—Aleksandar Vasiljevic